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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1501

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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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POLISH LEADERS GREET CZECH LEADER HUSAK ON BIRTHDAY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jan 78 p 1 AU

[Polish leaders birthday greetings to CSSR party-state leader Gustav Husak]

[Text] To Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, in Prague:

Dear Comrade Husak, on the occasion of your 65th birthday, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council of the Polish People's Republic and on our own behalf we send you our cordial congratulations and warm wishes.

Your life is inseparably linked to the Czechoslovak communists' struggle for national and social liberation and with vigorous activities in the international communist and workers movement. Dear Comrade Husak, the PZPR and all the Polish people nourish profound regard and respect for you as an outstanding Czechoslovak activist.

Our party and our people are well aware of your enormous contribution to the cause of socialist construction in fraternal Czechoslovakia. Your activity as CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president is closely related to socialist Czechoslovakia's dynamic development and to the successful implementation of a developed socialist society. This can be seen in the CSSR's intensified militancy in the international arena for the sake of consolidating peace, strengthening detente and promoting international cooperation.

The Polish people have great regard and sincere affection for socialist Czechoslovakia's successes achieved under the CPCZ's and your personal leadership.

Dear Comrade Husak, the Polish people know and value highly your personal contribution to the comprehensive development of Polish-Czechoslovak friendship and cooperation. The comprehensive development

of our mutual relations serves well the Polish and Czechoslovak peoples, helping enhance the strength and cohesion of the community of the socialist states. Dear Comrade Husak, we value highly your contribution to the struggle of all progressive forces in the world for social justice, peace and socialism.

On your birthday we send you our warm wishes for good health and further successes in your responsible party and state work for the benefit of socialist Czechoslovakia and the cause of progress and peace in the world.

[Signed] Edward Gierek, PZPR Central Committee first secretary; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR-BULGARIA AGREEMENT PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part II No 1, 5 January 1978, pages 1-3, promulgates the law, ratified by the GDR People's Chamber on 21 December 1977, on the agreement, dated 14 September 1977, between the GDR and Bulgaria concerning friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. The agreement is broken down into 11 articles.

The Bulgarian-language text of the agreement is given on pages 3-4 of this issue of GESETZBLATT.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR-CSSR AGREEMENT PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part II No 1, 5 January 1978, pages 5-7, promulgates the law, ratified by the GDR People's Chamber on 21 December 1977, on the agreement, dated 3 October 1977, between the GDR and the CSSR concerning friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. The agreement is broken down into 12 articles.

The Czech-language text of the agreement is given on pages 7-8 of this issue of GESETZBLATT.

ALBANIA

ACHIEVEMENTS ON MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES EXTOLLED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 3 Jan 78 p 4

[Article: "The Marxist-Leninist Parties Are Being Developed and Strengthened in the Struggle for the Protection of the Interests of the Proletariat and the Revolution"]

[Text] The year 1977 was another year of growth and new victories for Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces everywhere in the world. From year to year, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties are augmented by new proletarian fighters and the Marxist-Leninist movement is expanded with the birth of new parties and organizations, while the internationalist unity, solidarity and mutual assistance of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the common struggle for the cause of the revolution and of socialism are being raised to a new level.

Under conditions of the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalistrevisionist world and of the sharpening of the class conflicts which characterize the current economic and political situation in these countries, the Marxist-Leninist parties are intensifying their revolutionary activity in order to strengthen their ties with the masses and to organize and direct them in determined class battles, for the protection of their vital interests against political oppression and economic exploitation, against revisionist The participation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in important mass actions such as the strike of the 4,500 workers in the Roca Gava factory in Barcelona, which lasted 6 months, and the strike of 80,000 construction workers in Asturias, led during the past year by the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), the many demonstrations and protest actions organized by the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), etc., against capitalist oppression and exploitation and the fascization measures of the bourgeoisie are all an expression of the closer and closer ties of the Marxist-Leninist parties with the working masses and of the high prestige and authority which these parties enjoy in the ranks of the workers of their countries. In Latin America, Marxist-Leninist parties such as the Communist

Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Peruvian Communist Party, etc., are now the main forces which are opposed to the fascist dictatorships of the oligarchy. They organize and lead the movement of the masses and the armed movement for true national independence and freedom. There has been a noticeable rise in the activity of the Communist Party of Japan (Leftist) which is strengthening its ties with the masses and working to organize and stimulate the movement of the Japanese workers agianst the anti-popular policy of the indigenous bourgeoisie, against the U.S.-Japanese security treaty and against the military presence of U.S. imperialism in Japan, etc. The Communist Party of Ceylon, the Communist Party of Workers and Peasants in Iran, etc., have also achieved important successes in their activity.

There has been further development in the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against modern revisionism and all new manifestations of present-day opportunism, to protect Marxism-Leninism from their attacks and distortions and to lessen and demolish their influence among the workers. The congresses of Marxist-Leninist parties, which have been held recently, such as those of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), etc., and the publication of a number of important resolutions such as those of the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), the Peruvian Communist Party, etc., all of which have raised to a higher level the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against the various revisionist and opportunist currents and these which circulate today in the international workers move-They have been a valuable contribution in regard to the different problems which are troubling the workers today and which deal with the fate of the revolution and the struggle of peoples for their national and social liberation.

Another proof of the growth and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist movement is the raising to a new level of the international unity and solidarity among the Marxist-Leninist parties and of the mutual assistance in the struggle against common enemies. As conscientious and resolute protectors of the interests of the revolution and the proletariat, faithful to the end to proletarian internationalism, the Marxist-Leninist parties always keep in mind not only the interests of the revolution in their countries but also the interests of the revolution in other countries and the interests of the international working class. "As internationalist communists," Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Party Congress, "we must exchange experiences and, in the conditions of each country, each must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.... We think that cooperation between our Marxist-Leninist parties, on a true revolutionary road, should be multilateral. Exchange of experience can be in bilateral or multilateral forms."

Many bilateral meetings have taken place recently between a number of Marxist-Leninist parties such as the meetings between the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) and the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of

Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, etc. Of great importance for the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninists were the internationalist demonstrations which took place last year in Rome, Ludwigshafen, Athens and Lisbon with the participation of many Marxist-Leninist parties. These demonstrations expressed once again the fidelity of the Marxist-Leninist parties to proletarian internationalism, their determination and revolutionary commitment to carry through to the end the cause of the revolution in the relentless struggle against bourgeois monopoly, against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social—imperialism and their tools, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the Common Market and CEMA, against revisionism and reaction, etc.

An important success for the Marxist-Leninist movement and the strengthening of internationalist unity within it was the publication of the joint statement of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America and of the joint statement of the five Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe. All these things show that the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties is a unity of action and not of words; it is a unity of action and activity which is constantly rising.

The resolute struggle which the Marxist-Leninist parties are carrying on against the monopolist bourgeoisie and their servants and the increasing of their influence among the masses have alarmed and enraged the capitalists and the reactionaries who are trying, by all manners and means, to oppress the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties, to make them illegal, etc. However, this is nothing but an expression of the weakness and fear of the capitalists in the face of the ever increasing power of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Albanian Workers Party, the Albanian people who are in the same war camp with the Marxist-Leninists and the true revolutionaries everywhere in the world heartily greet the successes and victories achieved by the Marxist-Leninist parties in the various fields of their activity, considering them as common victories which affect the entire proletariat.

The growth and strengthening, year after year, of the true Marxist-Leninist parties is, as the 7th Party Congress stressed, "living proof that the proletariat has never lost confidence in Marxism-Leninism and that in it, the proletariat sees the most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the victory of the revolution."

ALBANTA

REPORT ON NATURAL SCIENCES SECTION MEETING AT ACADEMY SESSION

Tirana BULETIN I SHKENCAVE TE NATYRES in Albanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 77, pp 95-98

[Article by Tahir Kokalari]

[Text] An expanded meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was held on 18-19 April 1977, including its sections. The subject of these meetings was "the further development of the sciences in our country in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress."

At the plenary session, Aleks Buda, president of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, rendered a report on "problems and takksconcerning the development of the sciences in the light of the directives of the Seventh Party Congress."

After the first plenary session, the transactions continued in the social science, natural sciences and technical sciences sectors.

The reports from the natural sciences section dealt with prospective problems of these sciences in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and the contribution that these sciences are to make in resolving the present and prospective tasks for the development of our economy.

In the field of the biological sciences, K. Paparisto in his report on "the development of the biological sciences and our tasks" stressed that studies must be undertaken in the field of plant physiology, biochemistry, microbiology, and applied genetics, including precise studies in theoretical genetics. The reporter pointed out the role which they must play at the present time, and also gave some thoughts about improving the training of the cadres in the biological sciences, and so forth.

In the field of the mathematical sciences, P. Pilika rendered a report on "The Seventh Party Congress and the development of mathematics in our

country." Among other things, he pointed out that the philosophical problems in mathematics, the theoretical thinking of our party and Comrade Enver about the role and place of mathematics in the country's socialist construction should be studied as a function of better qualified and more elevated training of the young cadres by the mathematical cadres. reporter indicated that more care should be devoted to the massive use of mathematical methods in production practice, and to the development of theoretical thinking in the matter of computer mathematics, and so forth. The report on "The use of mathematical methods and electronic computers in studying and solving the problems of our economy," prepared by K. Bukuroshi, pointed out that faster progress will be made in using mathematical methods to solve in a scientific manner the fundamental problems in the main fields of production by drafting and standardizing the respective programs in electronic computers, and so on. In the field of the physical sciences, the report on "Some problems of physics in the light of the directives of the Seventh Party Congress," prepared by S. Kuneshka, and others, dealt with questions of applied physics and theoretical physics, stressing that the physics of solid bodies, which underlies many problems in mineralogy, metallurgy, metallography, polymers, and so forth, must, in particular, be developed at a rapid rate. also dealt with the carefully studied and most rational use of special physics apparatus for more precise experimentation in the branches of the physics of materials and for crystallographic, mineralogical, metallographic, biological and other studies.

S. Koja in his report, "On some problems of the present and prospective development of nuclear physics in our country in the light of the Seventh Party Congress" pointed out that scientific work in the nuclear physics fields must be strengthened so as to replace the classic methods with nuclear ones, and that their use should be extended as far as possible in solving the main problems in production and science.

In the field of the chemical sciences, K. Popa in his report "On some problems of the development of the chemical sciences" pointed out that along with the solution of the present problems we must also solve those of the future in finding and exploiting most rationally the country's mineral or organic raw materials by discovering all of their characteristics, even of the molecular order. In chemical research we must introduce as widely as possible the modern precise methods which permit one to obtain all the parameters required by science today. We must study the problem of products which, under the present conditions, can be synthesized and we must determine the rate of development of broad chemical synthesis in this country, and also make studies for projecting new technical activities with our own resources, and so forth.

The report on "The contribution of the chemical sciences to aiding the development of production," prepared by L. Bojaxhi, touched on problems regarding the study of raw and accessory materials connected with the existing industry, as well as problems of the widest and most economical exploitation of natural resources, and so on.

In the field of the agricultural sciences, L Xhuveli, in his report on "The agricultural sciences in performing the task of insuring bread in this country," pointed out problems relating to the development of the agricultural sciences in performing the task of insuring a domestic supply of bread.

In the report on "The level of research in the agricultural sciences and the development of studies in the field of genetics," T. Tartari stressed that scientific research in applied genetics, agriculture and animal husbandry must be deepened, while the report "On some problems of the zootechnical sciences in our country," prepared by Dh. Bogdani, dealt with the problems of strengthening the feed base in the livestock raising.

In the field of the medical sciences, F. Hoxha in his report "On the further development of scientific research in medicine, in the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress," emphasized the need to assimilate the complicated modern methods used today so as to establish suitable organizational forms in the field of medical biology and give greater scientific depth to the studies in special fields such as genetics, immunology, physiology, and so forth; the need to use modern medical apparatus in a broad spectrum; and so forth.

At the final plenary session, Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the Party Central Committee and directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, took the floor to speak about the Seventh Party Congress and some problems and tasks in the field of the sciences. After giving a high evaluation to the work of the expanded meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences, she stated that, under the leadership of the party and with the special care of the Party Central Committee, the government and Comrade Enver directly, our sciences had achieved important successes and have made generalizations of great theoretical and practical value.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha stressed the party's leading role in the field of the sciences as a principal condition for serving the people and socialism better. To strengthen the party's leadership in the sciences, every field of these should be guided in their work by the party's ideology and proletarian policy. The development of science, she continued, has taken and is taking place through a sharp class struggle. The class struggle causes all the sciences to grow, raises their level, and strengthens their partisan character.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha then pointed out that scientific study and research are an integral part of all activity for the development of our socialist society. Our science, she underscored, must resolve the tasks confronting our economic-social development under the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, the general crisis of capitalism and

the economic-financial crisis that has enveloped the world, the sharp class struggle in the international arena. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha then stressed that an immediate and timely task for science, as for the whole country, is the fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, which sets science the task of solving urgent technical, technological, economic and scientific problems. She said that more studies must made regarding the correct harmonization of the economic interests in the socialist society, with priority being given to the general and prospective interests in building socialism according to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance.

Having pointed out the popular class character of our science, she unmasked the reactionary and idealistic theories and stressed that the fight against them was one of the important tasks of all our sciences, and primarily the social sciences, in order to demolish the bourgeois-revisionist views theoretically and ideologically with scientific arguments. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha then spoke of the need to deepen the concepts about scientific work and the popularization of science; about mass scientific experimentation as a powerful means of developing the thinking and creative activity of the masses in science and production; about the great opportunities existing in our country for strengthening and popularizing the scientific research which our socialist order creates for us; about the tasks facing the specialized study centers, the party committees and base organizations, the state and economic organs, the mass organizations and the other institutions in making studies and generalizations about our revolutionary experience.

Finally, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, greeted those present, wished them further success, and expressed the full confidence of the Party Central Committee that our scientific workers, old and young, united in unity around our heroic party headed by Comrade Enver, would mobilize themselves with all their energies, mental and physical, to put into effect the historic decisions of the Seventh Party Congress.

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DATA ON FACULTY OF NATURAL SCIENCES AT TIRANA UNIVERSITY

Tirana BULETIN I SHKENCAVE TE NATYRES in Albanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 77, pp 3-10

[Article by O Kraja: "The Faculty of Natural Sciences in the Twentieth Anniversary of the Founding of Tirana University"]

[Text] The creation of the University of Tirana in 1957 was a great victory for our people with regard to education, culture and science, a victory due to the care of the Workers' Party and the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist line which it has constantly followed under the leadership of the Central Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The importance of that victory may be clearly seen from the great results obtained during these two decades by the University both with regard to the training of higher specialists and with regard to scientific research and the development of science in our country. A whole army of various high specialists has been trained at the University, leavened with the party's ideology and the ideals of socialism and equipped with a knowledge of science and modern technology. They are working successfully in various sectors of production, education, and culture and are making an important contribution to the construction of socialism in our country. Along with the great teaching and educating job, the chairs and workers of the University have done an extensive job and played an important role in developing scientific thought and in the study and solution of many problems in the various sectors of the economy and culture.

Within the University, the Faculty of Natural Sciences, as one of its seven faculties, occupies an important place. The Creation, development and results of this faculty have been an integral part of the life, the development, and the great successes of the University. The place and role of this faculty consists not only in the teaching and scientific work to train the higher cadres and carry on research activity in the separate branches of the natural sciences, but also in the assistance which it renders to the other faculties by developing the mathematical, physical, chemical and biological disciplines.

As is known, the Faculty of Natural Sciences was created with the founding of the University in 1957. This faculty was formed on the basis of the four-year Pedagogical Institute and the Institute of Sciences, inheriting the scientific funds and the material laboratory base from those mathematics-physics and biology-chemistry branches and the scientific sectors for flora, fuana, organic chemistry with all their personnel.

In greeting the Party Central Committee and the Government on the occasion of the inauguration of the University it was said: "The Party Central Committee and the Government require that our state university first of all train specialists of high quality for the branches of the economy and culture who are capable of assimilating the achievements of science and typing theory to the practice of building socialism. The students must be afforded broad prospects in their speciality; their aptitudes and interest in independent work must be developed and they must learn not only what socialism is, but also how it is built.

"Special importance must be attached to the ideological content of the lectures. They should be constructed on the materialist world outlook as to the explanation of the laws and phenomena in nature and society and should reflect in a scientific manner the practice of the construction of socialism in our country.

The union of the pedagogical and scientific forces not only creates the possibility of a more rapid development of scientific research in the fields in which such work has begun..., but also makes it possible to lay the groundwork in other fields such as the physical, mathematical and other sciences, and this is another task assigned to the University."

With the creation of the Faculty, the necessary organizational measures were taken to carry out all these tasks and orders imposed by the Party and Government, an all-around mobilization of the workers was displayed, and all the pedagogical-scientific aptitudes and existing material possibilities were exploited.

Thus, four branches were opened back in the school year 1957-1958: mathematics, physics, biology-chemistry and chemistry. The first three branches had the duty to train educators in the respective subjects for the secondary schools, while the chemistry branch was to train chemist-technologists for the various production sectors. The mathematics and physics branches were created as new, special ones, unlike the mathematics-physics branch of the Pedagogical Institute, which turned out specialists in both fields. A chemistry branch was created for the first time in our country.

The curricula of these four branches were drafted on the basis of the party's orientations and the principle of training cadres with a broad profile by taking measures to see to it that the ideological subjects and communist education would occupy an important place in the cadre

training process. Thus, efforts were made to establish the most correct possible proportions between the ideological subjects and those of the general and special sciences, between the formative theoretical subjects and the applied disciplines, between theory (lectures) and practice (seminars, exercises, laboratory work, practice in the field), and so on.

This first, very responsible work done on the curricula reflected the previous experience of our colleges and efforts were made to borrow from advanced world experience whatever was most rational at the time.

Life and our subsequent experience imposed the need for changes and further improvements in the curricula in order that our schools might respond ever better to the demands of the new stages of development of our country and the brilliant prospects offered to it by the party and Comrade Enver from one congress to the other.

Training of the higher cadres in the faculty has been organized in accordance with the needs imposed by the development of our economy and socialist culture in various stages and in the prospective future. Thus in the school year 1965-1966 two separate branches for mathematics and physics were created with the task of preparing mathematicians and physicists for production, with a fairly higher theoretical training than that of the teachers of those branches. The term for these two specialties has always been a year longer than for the respective branches which have trained teachers.

Always guided by the general interest and the willingness to respond fully to the country's needs, the Faculty of Natural Sciences has tried to exploit to the fullest its scientific and pedagogical abilities and the possibilities of the material-laboratory base. It became an initiator and undertook to open and organize the two new branches which later went over to the respective faculties when they reached the proper stage of development. Thus, in 1960, the pharmacy branch was created, which in 1972 was transferred to the Medical Faculty. Similarly, in the period 1963-1973, the commodity research branch functioned at the faculty, and was then transferred to the Economic Faculty.

Likewise, in order to meet the needs of the petroleum industry, a branch with a narrow profile to train petroleum technology specialists was opened at the Faculty in the school year 1970-71.

In keeping with the great new tasks facing the Faculty in the various phases of its development, the requisite organizational measures were also taken in addition to the great ideological job. Thus, chairs of mathematics, physics, general and inorganic chemistry, organic and biological chemistry, botany and zoology were created at the Faculty back in the school year 1957-58. With the passing of the years and the growth of the Faculty's tasks, five new chairs were created one after the other: the chairs of chemical technology, analytical chemistry, general mathematics,

general physics, and physical and colloidal chemistry, besides the chairs of pharmacy and commodity research. Instead of the 28 teaching and scientific cadres which the Faculty had in the first year of its life, it now has 131, while the total number of employees exceeds 240 persons.

This growth in the number of cadres and the formation of ever more homogeneous chairs have created conditions for an appreciable growth in the qualifications and for more thorough specialization of the members of those chairs. Today, all the chairs of the Faculty have become teaching—educational—scientific units with a specific and ever clearer physiognomy, which cope competently and on the requisite level with the disciplines, which they practice not only in our branches, but also in all the branches of the University where the subjects of the natural sciences are given, such as the Faculty's branches of engineering, economics, medicine, mining, geology, and so forth.

Special scientific sectors or other important activities have also been created and have functioned in a good many cases under the chairs. Ever since the creation of the faculty, the flora sector has carried on its activity under the botany chair, the fauna sector under the zoology chair, and the organic chemistry sector under the chair of the same name. Later, a scientific sector was created under the chair of general and inorganic chemistry, the Museum of Natural Sciences attached to the zoology chair, the Botanical Garden, attached to the botany chair, and so forth. In the sixties, a radiation physics sector was created under the chair of specialized physics, later becoming the Institute for Nuclear Physics. At the same time, the Center for Computer Mathematics was created under the faculty's chairs of mathematics. Later, with the creation of the Academy of Sciences, these two institutions were transferred to it.

The creation of the chairs and the other scientific research units was accompanied by an expansion and enrichment of the material-laboratory base.

In 1957 the whole faculty was contained in a few auditoriums and had only six laboratory rooms. Now, each chair has adequate environments projected and built especially for teaching-educational and scientific activity in accordance with the specifics of each chair.

Thanks to the care and constant assistance of the party we have created a laboratory base permitting the realization of all the curricula at a satisfactory level in both the theoretical-practical and the didactic aspects. Even in the most difficult years of the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade, the government has not spared the means to equip our teaching and scientific laboratories with the latest apparatus to insure the training of the cadres on a level with the requirements of the times and permit the undertaking of elevated and integrated scientific subjects.

The faculty has from the first days successfully coped with the difficult task of training cadres both in number and in quality. The rate of growth of the contingents of the students in the faculty has been constantly increasing, especially in the first decade of its life, when the number of students rose from 129 in 1957 to over 1,200, in the "separation-fromwork" system alone.

The rate of training of higher specialists in the faculty has been in keeping with the requirements of the plan and the immediate and prospective needs imposed by the development of the economy, education and science in our country, which in general have been growing constantly. The figures for the higher cadres which have attended and received diplomas in the various branches of the faculty can give a full idea of the quantity and rate of training of the cadres. During the 20 years, 3,941 higher specialists have completed their studies and received their diplomas, 3,408 being in the "separation-from-work" system. Of the total number of specialists who have graduated from the "separation-from-work" system, 708 have gone through the mathematics branch (629 through the 4-year branch and 79 through the 5-year), 684 through the physics branch (536 through the 4-year branch and 148 through the 5-year), 899 through the industrial chemistry branch, 655 through the biology-chemistry branch, 200 through the pharmacy branch, 210 through the commodity research branch, and 52 through the petroleum technology branch.

The faculty's chairs have also done a good job of schooling in the "non-separation-from-work" system, in the evening and correspondence system, from which 533 workers have been graduated during this period, 85 being in the mathematics branch, 51 in the physics branch, 191 in the industrial chemistry branch, and 206 in the biology-chemistry branch.

By comparison with the five-year period 1957-1962, during which 173 students graduated, this number was 4 to 5 times greater in the later five-year periods: thus, 1,077 students were graduated in the last five-year period 1973-1977 alone.

The rapid rate of all-around development which has characterized the whole life of our country has confronted the faculty with many problems, including that of the quality of the cadres trained—a problem which the party and Comrade Enver has stressed to us ever since the day of the inauguration of the university, and continually, also pointing out to us the ways to solve it. So this problem, in spite of the difficulties encountered, has been kept in mind and has held the center of attention.

The faculty was obliged to solve especially difficult problems in the school year 1961-1962 and several years thereafter, when, more than 200 students, whom owing to the unmasking of Khrushchevian revisionism by our party, the governments of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries refused to allow to continue the studies begun in their schools. They came from very different schools and specialities, so that the chairs were obliged to organize individual work for several years with a large

part of them. The undertaking of such a task was a great and difficult matter. Although our pedagogical-scientific cadres were young and inexperienced, they were inspired by the principled and manly stand of our party, mobilized all their forces and coped successfully with this task, thus setting a concrete example of the great strength in the application of the principle of self-reliance. A particular inspiration for the university's collective were Comrade Enver Hoxha's warm words at the meeting with representatives of the capital's intelligentsia in October of 1962.

A new stage in the faculty's life was the period after Comrade Enver's speech in the Qemal Stafa secondary school (gjimnaz) (on the occasion of its 40th anniversary) and particularly after the programmatic speech of 7 March 1968, on the further revolutionization of the schools. These speeches opened up new horizons and served as a basis for organizing the great popular discussion of education, whose conclusions were discussed at the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee and were crowned by the historic decisions of that plenum.

Our faculty's collective, workers and students, guided by the party base organization and keenly activated in the popular discussion of the further revolutionization of the schools, has gained great political and ideological maturity and a good methodical-professional training, which have become important conditions for concretizing the decisions of the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee in the faculty and for the implementation of the new educational system.

The new curricula, in addition to reflecting the three components, instruction, productive work, and physical-military training, have been rid of a good many descriptive and secondary subjects; in them, the disciplines pertaining to Marxist-Leninist ideological training have been extended over the 4 years of school with a sufficient number of hours for lectures and seminars, and so forth. Life in general has justified these curricula as documents in which a sound training of the cadres is outlined in accordance with the requirements of the present stage of development of our economy and culture, as documents with a pronouncedly original and national physiognomy, reflecting the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver. After the drafting of the plans, a very important task was that of drafting the curricula and the texts. The curricula drafted by the chairs represent in a relatively full manner the present world level of the respective sciences, choosing the material from the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory, and reflects our party's theoretical thinking, Comrade Enver's teachings and the experience in building socialism in our country. The drafting of 120 basic and accessory texts, mainly during the years 1970-1974, most of which are the original work of our cadres, is an important success. These texts, which completely replace the old ones with which the faculty worked and which in most cases were translations or adaptations from foreign literature, make the first serious effort to perform the fundamental task of penetrating all our texts through and through with the Marxist-Leninist ideological pivot of our party. The drafting of the new texts, the introduction of audiovisual

technology and equipment and the giving of the lectures provided for have increased the productivity of the instruction hour, thus creating ever more favorable conditions for constantly raising the level of training of the new cadres.

The introduction of the three components confronted the faculty with a number of tasks, whose successful resolution governs the full realization of the decisions of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee.

Thanks to the great job done under the guidance of the party base organization a number of results have been obtained and good experience has been gained in the physical-military training of the students. Within the framework of the harmonization of the three components, instruction, productive work and physical-military education, the creation of a number of specialized laboratories (kabinete) for military training with the proper seriousness, the establishment of the correct proportions between theoretical-practical instruction in the auditorium and the laboratory and military exercises in the field, have raised the level of military training in the faculty's students from year to year.

Important efforts have also been made to organize the productive work component as well as possible. In spite of the results obtained in this respect, much still remains for us to do in achieving the aims and objectives set by the party. Although the task of physical hardening and education of the students and cadres through productive physical labor is being performed relatively well, the appropriate ways have still not been found to tie the theory gained in the auditorim and in books to the practice of our production.

The criticism made by the Seventh Party Congress regarding the harmonization of the three components also applies fully to our faculty and confronts us with the important tasks. One aspect which is becoming more and more consolidated in our schools and forms an important premise for the performance of the historic tasks which face them is the democratization of the schools and the creation of correct pedagog-student relations, in accordance with Comrade Enver's teachings. In our faculty too there have been successes in this respect, especially in the correct combination of democracy with proletarian discipline in the spirit of the decisions of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh plenums of the Party Central Committee and of its Seventh Congress.

Ever since their founding, our chairs have tried to evaluate correctly the party's orientation to the effect that without engaging in scientific research they cannot properly play their role as educational teaching units. In putting into practice the party's orientation that all instructional workers should engage in scientific research, the chairs of our faculty have a wide list of subjects for scientific studies. The studies done on the basis of the thematic plans aim to contribute to the solution of the important problems of our socialist economy and culture and to raise the ideological and scientific level of the teaching process, the training and

qualification of higher specialists. The results obtained in scientific research in the various branches of the natural sciences and in mathematics with regard to the treatment of certain theoretical aspects and the application of computer mathematics, in physics with regard to the physics of solid bodies and radioactivity, in chemistry with regard to the study of the natural raw materials of the country and the finding of rational ways of exploiting them, in botany with regard to the study of the country's vegetation and the mapping of the flora of Albania and to the use of stimulants to increase the yields of agricultural crops, in zoology with regard to the study of the country's fauna and entomofauna, and so forth, are important and quite promising for greater successes in the future.

There is no doubt that the degree of realization of the tasks is determined by the level of qualification of the workers of the chairs and scientific sectors. Today, all the responsible officials of the chairs and scientific sectors have scientific titles and degrees. The system of post-university studies of the first and second degrees of qualification both for the faculty's workers and for the outside cadres has been organized and set on course. So far, about 35 persons have enrolled in the faculty for the first degree of qualification. Along with these, all the other workers also work on the basis of the planned tasks for their further qualification. However, we view the results obtained with a critical eye, and in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Congress the rate thus far in this direction has proved too slow.

The faculty has begun to do a great job of single and general qualification of teachers. Measures are also being taken to begin qualifying chemists and other production specialists.

All the successes achieved by the faculty during these two decades of its life are due to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the steellike unity of our people with the Workers' Party headed by Comrade Enver. These successes have been achieved through a hard class struggle with external and internal enemies, who did not believe in our capabilities and have done everything they could to hamper us by every means in our forward march. To achieve these successes we have also had to combat alien concepts and views, conservative and liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic, and so on. At the same time, a great job has been done in inspiring the workers with faith in their own forces, based on the principle of self-reliance. The Faculty of Natural Sciences enters the third decade of its life in an enthusiastic and revolutionary atmosphere, created by the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and especially by the historic report of Comrade Enver Hoxha to that congress.

The workers and students of our faculty have been obligized to concretize and put into practice all the tasks emerging from the decisions of that congress on the subject of teaching, education and scientific research. In their work, they have constantly borne in mind Comrade Enver's admonition that "the educational role of the schools in the all-around

moulding of the young generation will be strenghthened to the extent that the schools and the young people are included in the class struggle to develop the revolution and solve the concrete problems of socialist construction."

The teaching and scientific workers, striving and struggling with all their might, are confident that they will successfully fulfill the task set by Comrade Enver to the effect that the University and the other higher schools "shall turn out cadres politically and ideologically moulded and annealed, with a broad cultural horizon, armed with thorough scientific knowledge and prepared for life." Together with a better organized effort for the post-university qualification of cadres, the faculty will devote still greater care to study and research, viewing this as a necessary condition for raising the level of all teaching and educational work.

Still greater efforts will be made to concretize it with clear tasks and put into effect Comrade Enver's admonition that "The development of science poses as a very important question the increase in efforts toward studies in certain fields such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, physiology, and so forth, without which many problems of the development of the applied sciences and technical progress cannot be successfully solved, nor can the various specialists and the young generation in our schools be given a sound training."

The collective of the Faculty of Natural Sciences enters the third decade of the faculty's life confident and armed with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, under the guidance of the party organization, and will perform ever better the great tasks onfronting it with regard to the training and qualification of the cadres and scientific research.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' ON U.S. 'MEDDLING' IN ITALY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 78 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "Two Worlds"]

[Excerpt] "The close voluntary solidarity of sovereign independent states in the name of socialism and communism, profound mutual respect, fully equitable rights and fraternal mutual assistance—this is what constitutes our cooperation! The broadest cooperation in all the spheres of politics, the economy and culture in the interest of each fraternal country and the cause of socialism as a whole—this is what constitutes our cooperation! Unity in the fight against imperialism, strong resistance to a policy of aggres—sion, solidarity with all those who defend the cause of liberty, independence and social progress—this is what constitutes our cooperation!" In this way Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, characterized the substance of relations among the socialist countries, relations which are consistently guided by the principle of socialist internationalism.

What a contrast there is between the relations among the socialist states and the relations existing among the capitalist countries for which the norms of wolfish ethics are typical as they rule in capitalist society, among the individual capitalists, where the weaker become the victims of the stronger and where the more powerful impose their diktat on the weaker.

In the past few months we repeatedly found this confirmed. The aggravating discrepancies within EEC, the acerbation of relations between the United States, Japan and the EEC countries, the ruthless imposition of the level of military expenditure according to the Pentagon's ideas on the West European NATO members, the efforts to subordinate the foreign policy of individual Western states to the U.S. imperialist interests and the shameless meddling by the Unites States in the internal affairs [of other countries] prove this.

We had again occasion to learn this in the past few days when Washington impertinently interfered in affairs that are the sovereign concern of Italy. It was neither the first time that this happened nor did it happen only with regard to this country.

We vividly recall the Unites States' meddling in Portugal, an interference directly designed to undermine the progressive forces' position and to prevent profound democratic changes in the country! The NATO meddling in Greece's affairs in the spring of 1967 when the real possibility of an election victory by the democratic forces emerged; and, particularly, the United States' role in preparing the counterrevolution in Chile. That the purpose of the interference was to open the path to reactionary forces was demonstrated not only by the fact that the Greek fascist colonels' junta staged a coup d'etat and introduced a rule of terror precisely according to the secret NATO plan, but, primarily, by the Chilean people's tragedy. The efforts at world domination by the reactionary circles in the United States and the meddling in the internal affairs of sovereign countries simply are two sides of one and the same coin.

The United States is the chief capitalist large power and its influence on international relations is great. All the greater is also its co-responsibility for maintaining peace and easing tension, however. The world has already heard quite a few statements by U.S. politicians about the need to improve the international atmosphere. If these words are really sincere and are not mere phrases, they must be accompanied by deeds. The USSR and the other socialist countries are prepared to meet halfways steps to ease tension.

However, the United States' attempts to interfere, its threats and downright extortion, run directly counter to easing tension. The broad Italian public is rightly indignant. Their indignation is shared by the progressive people throughout the world. As the Italian daily PAESE SERA wrote, this was not only a flagrant violation of national sovereignty, but "Italy was treated like a U.S. protectorate," too.

Yes, Washington is again openly interfering in the internal affairs of the sovereign Italian state. It does so although the U.S. President signed the final document in Helsinki in 1975 in which he solemnly, and before the whole world, committed himself to respect the sovereignty of other countries. However, the time when the White House and the State Department could impose their will on the nations is a thing of the past.

The events of the past few days constitute a profound probe into the wolfish relations in capitalist society. The poet spoke profoundly true words when he said: there is only one world and nevertheless there are two worlds. Yes, there is the world of socialism that builds interstate relations of sovereignty, equality and fraternal cooperation and the world of capitalism where the laws on profit and imperialist interests are elevated to the position of the chief criterion, a world in which the United States grossly and shamelessly tries to push through its imperialist interests, its interest of dominating the world.

SED'S HAGER DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST CULTURE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 77 p 4 LD

[Article by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary: "Mutual Enrichment of Cultures"]

[Text] Berlin-The Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 60th anniversary was widely celebrated by all progressive mankind, initiated the friendly rapprochement and mutual spiritual enrichment of the socialist nations. This process is now so far advanced that the outlines of a future worldwide communist community are beginning to stand out in cooperation among the countries of socialism.

One of the most significant achievements of socialism lies in the fact that peoples who had been set against each other for centuries and who had been plunged into bloody wars by their feudal and capitalist rulers are now acting together, tied by bonds of strong, unbreakable friendship. Friendship with the Soviet people, which is enshrined in the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty signed by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker on 7 October 1975, is an inestimable achievement for the working people of the GDR. The words of Wilhelm Pieck, our first president, to the effect that friendship with the Soviet Union must become the vital concern of all Germans, serve to express the consistent position and policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

The deepening of friendship and cooperation and the continuous rapprochement of the socialist states and peoples is a natural historical process, whose core was clearly defined by L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress: "The fundamental basis of our close cooperation, its living soul and its guiding, organizing force is, of course, the unbreakable combat alliance of /the communist parties of the countries of socialism/ [passage within slantlines printed in boldface type], the unity of their world outlook, the unity of aims and unity of will."

The cultural aspect is assuming ever-increasing significance in the multilateral process of broadening cooperation and rapprochement of the socialist countries and nations. In our community the interaction of national cultures develops on the basis of a single world outlook and unity in the ideological, political and socioeconomic spheres. It represents—from the historical viewpoint—the consistent development of international proletarian culture at a higher social stage. It is significant that the process of the internationalization of socialist culture is linked very closely with the successes and flowering of national cultures. It is free of the contradictions and conflicts typical of the internationalization of culture in capitalist society and free of elements of coercion and compulsion against some national cultures by others.

Originally this development manifested itself in full in the multinational Soviet Union. The CPSU's experience was and is of inestimable significance for the formation of cultural ties among the socialist countries and for improving the leadership of these processes on the part of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Cooperation and rapprochement among the socialist nations in the sphere of culture develop in close dialectical interaction with the processes of the rapid flowering of each of them individually. Just as the overall level of education and culture rises rapidly during the successful building of developed socialism and communism and the spiritual and cultural life of the nations becomes increasingly rich and varied in conformity with this, so develops the readiness and ability of each of them to adopt and themselves apply the most valuable achievements and experience of the fraternal countries, as well as progressive elements in the culture of the peoples of capitalist states, in the interests of developing their own socialist culture. Thanks to this, the creative potential of each of the socialist nations reaches maturity and full flowering more quickly, and the best of the values created in the course of this process in turn enriches the fraternal national cultures.

This is how the spiritual and cultural potential is constantly built up in the socialist community and increasingly broad and harmonious diversity is achieved. "Developing socialist national culture in every possible way and shaping its patriotic internationalist socialist content," the party program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress states, "the GDR will make a worthy contribution to the international culture of socialism."

One of the distinguishing features of cultural building in the socialist countries at the modern stage is the fact that the multimillion-strong masses of the working people are participating directly in the shaping of culture to an ever increasing extent. The material basis of this process is the fraternal countries' growing economic cooperation within the framework of socialist economic integration. Work in which the

broad masses of the population are involved in one way or another is connected with this. Here ever-increasing numbers of citizens are coming into direct contact, together resolving many practical issues. A broad network of international ties, which is strengthening daily, and of intercourse founded on personal friendship has taken shape on this basis. For millions upon millions of people in the socialist community proletarian internationalism has become a matter of everyday practice. Their mutual understanding and a sense of involvement in the affairs of brother peoples are growing and strengthening.

The nature of our cooperation in the cultural sphere is also developing on this basis. This process is particularly impressive if you trace it using facts from the past 2 decades. What might have seemed exceptional back in the fifties is now an ordinary element of spiritual life. Whereas formerly the number of citizens of our country acquainted with the values of the multinational culture of the Soviet Union and other socialist states could be counted in thousands, today there are millions of them. Whereas at that time meetings of our countries' scientists and art figures were perceived as rare festivals, today this is a firm constituent part of everyday activity.

There are innumerable close creative contacts between cultural figures within the framework of diverse ties between the two countries' party and public organizations, enterprises, scientific and cultural establishments, educational institutions and twinned bezirks and oblasts, regions and cities. The transition has been made from initially occasional meetings to systematic cooperation, which is developing on the basis of long-term planning. The contribution being made to it by the working people themselves is increasing continuously here.

Playing the leading role in these processes under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist parties, the working class exerts a decisive influence on the socialist nations' cultural cooperation and rapprochement. This ensues from its position as the chief force in the development of social production and from its consistent revolutionary internationalist essence. The leading role of the working class of the fraternal countries in the development of socialist national culture is inseparable from its leading role in the sphere of the socialist nations' cultural cooperation and rapprochement.

The socialist nations' cultural cooperation and rapprochement are developing in a world where capitalism still holds significant positions. In addition to political and economic ties, the socialist countries also inevitably acquire cultural ties with capitalist states. The countries of socialism are above all interested in ties which would serve to further strengthen and develop the positive international changes of recent years in the direction of the relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence. Here a broad and multifaceted exchange meets the objective requirements of socialist culture, which is also enriched and developed

by means of contact with all the genuine values of world culture and which, for its part, makes a decisive contribution to its progress.

We never lose sight of the truth that culture in capitalist society at its imperialist stage of development is subject to the same phenomena of decadence as the system as a whole. Therefore our interest in diverse cultural exchange with capitalist countries is combined with principled discrimination against all decadent phenomena in the culture of the world of imperialism and with struggle against any forms of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and against imperialist, social reformist and ultraleftist ideologies.

Neither do we lose sight of the fact that it is precisely in the sphere of cultural relations that certain imperialist forces are seeking opportunities to undermine socialism from within. By means of "cultural pressure" tactics—a constituent part of the imperialist strategy of "peaceful infiltration of socialist countries"—they are importunately seeking to use the atmosphere of the relaxation of tension, expanding cooperation and growing contacts in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres to force their own reactionary ideology upon socialist society.

These attempts are being accompanied by a purposeful slander campaign against our countries, particularly the Soviet Union, in the course of which the absurd allegation that the socialist states fear contacts in the sphere of culture and information exchange and reduce them to a minimum is being put forward and repeated in many variants.

Socialist culture has no reason to fear competition with capitalist culture. It is developing despite all the subversive maneuvers of reactionary forces, and its influence and weight in modern world culture are growing daily. Its achievements are increasingly serving the good not only of the socialist states but also of peace-loving, humanistic, democratic forces throughout the world.

Meetings and consultations between leaders of the Marxist-Leninist parties are making an effective contribution to developing lively cooperation among the fraternal countries of socialism in the sphere of culture. Long-term understandings are being made the basis of interstate agreements and relations in the social sphere. The setting up of a multilateral commission of the socialist countries on problems of cultural theory and literary and art criticism was a new step in this sphere. An effective contribution to further qualitative changes in this cooperation is being made by long-term plans for the socialist countries' cultural and scientific cooperation—plans which accord with the requirements of the harmonious unity of the development of the socialist culture of each of these countries with their international cooperation.

Relying on our accumulated experience and on our great achievements in the sphere of cultural cooperation, we are deepening cooperation with the Soviet people and the peoples of the other fraternal countries of socialism. In this spirit we are now making preparations for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

EAST GERMANY

STOPH TOASTS PRIME MINISTER OF YEMEN IN BERLIN

Sees Developing Cooperation

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jan 78 p 3 AU

[Apparent text of toast delivered by Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers Chairman, at Berlin dinner given by him on 12 January in honor of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade 'Ali Nasr Mhuhammad Dear Yemeni Comrades

Permit me to welcome you, our dear comrades and friends from the PDRY, once more most cordially to the GDR:

We assess the friendship visit of the PDRY Council of Ministers chairman to the GDR as a renewed expression

- -- of the consistently developing comradely cooperation and
- -- of the anti-imperialist solidarity between our two states and peoples.

The people of the PDRY, who in November last year celebrated in a worthy manner the 10th anniversary of its independence won in a heroic armed struggle, can be justly proud of the successes gained within this historically brief period in all fields of social development. Under very complicated conditions there has grown up in the south of the Arab Péninsula a state that has not only made considerable achievements in the domestic political field, but whose active foreign political contribution to the struggle for peace, detente, and social progress, and against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism has earned the high respect and appreciation of all progressive forces of the world.

At the same time--and this is the logic of the class struggle--the courageous example emanating from the consistent national democratic development of the PDRY for the struggle of the people's masses and its leading forces in the national liberation movement in encountering the embittered resistance of imperialism and reaction, but the wheel of history cannot be reversed.

During the last year, the forces of socialism and peace in the world have gained considerable successes along the path of detente and international security. Together with the Soviet Union as the champion for peace and social progress, and the other fraternal socialist countries, the GDR is unswervingly advocating the continuation of the process of detente and its extension to the military sphere. It cannot be overlooked, however, that aggressive anticommunists and the arms monopolies will try more intensely to undermine the European treaty system and the final act of Helsinki and to abuse it as a tool for interference.

It is also in the Middle East and the eastern horn of Africa that imperialism and reaction is now increasing its efforts to fan tensions, to stop social progress, and to liquidate the social gains of the peoples. This brings up serious dangers for peace and security.

The GDR has always supported the struggle of the Arab people against imperialism and Zionism, and will continue to do so in the future.

We reaffirm our stand on the complex, just, and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict brought about by Israeli Aggression and demand

-- the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories

--the granting of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to founding a sovereign independent state.

Our solidarity is with the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the interests of the Arab people of Palestine.

In view of the dangerous situation that has developed in the eastern horn of Africa, we emphasize our view that it is necessary to bring about a political settlement on the basis of the principles of the UN and OAU charters, and the preservation of the territorial integrity of the states involved in the conflict. Only such a solution can first and foremost be in accord with the vital interests of the peoples involved.

The policy of the PDRY which serves the national interests of the Arab peoples, its advocacy of united and cohesive action by all national and progressive forces in the region, and of further consolidating the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, is of greatest importance for the cause of peace and progress in the world.

Dear comrades and friends. Our GDR, whose growth and development was and is accompanied by hard class struggles against imperialism, is confidently preparing the 30th anniversary of its founding. Under the leadership of the SEO, the working people of our country will with elan and creative energy fulfill the demanding but realistic tasks that they set themselves

on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth SEO Congress. As you know, dear Yemeni friends and comrades, our socialist German state fraternally linked with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, is siding in solidarity with all those who advocate peace and security and struggle for their national and social liberation. The joint struggle of the countries of the socialist community, of the international workers movement, of the national liberation movement and all progressive forces, have fundamentally changed the features of the world. Our two peoples and states, which are geographically so far from each other, but by many common features yet so close, are making their contribution to this. They have no other goal but the well-being of the working people, progress, and peace. Dear comrades and friends, the struggle for the realization of common ideals and goals contributes at the same time to the further strengthening of the alliance between our two states and peoples.

Permit me to express the conviction that your visit is marking another culmination point in the history of the friendly, trustful, and solidarity relations between the GDR and the PDRY.

Let us raise our glass and drink

- --to further successes in the national-democratic development of the new society in the PDRY,
- --to the firm friendship and cooperation between our two states and peoples,
- --to the health of Comrade 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, General Secretary of the United Political Organization National Front,
- --to the health of Comrade Salim Rubayy' 'Ali, chairman of the PDRY Presidential Council.
- -- to your health, dear Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad,
- -- to the health of all our Yemeni guests.

PDRY Minister's Visit

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 78 p 6 AU

[Joint communique on the visit to the GDR by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] and member of the United National Front Political Organization [UNFPO] Central Committee 11-16 January]

[Text] At the invitation of Willi Storm, GDR Council of Ministers chairman and SED Central Committee Politburo member, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, PDRY Council of Ministers chairman and member of the UNFPO Central Committee Politburo, paid an official friendship visit to the GDR from 11-16 January 1978.

Erich Honecker, SEO Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council chairman, received 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, PDRY Council of Ministers chairman and member of the UNFPO Central Committee Politburo, for an extensive exchange of opinions on the basic problems of the international situation, the joint struggle for peace and social progress, as well as the relations between the GDR and the PDRY.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani conveyed to Erich Honecker, SEO Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and to the party and state leadership, as well as the people of the GDR, fraternal greetings from "Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, UNFPO Central Committee general secretary, and from Salim Rubayyi' 'Ali, UNFPO Central Committee deputy general secretary and chairman of the PDRY Presidential Council, and on their behalf extended an invitation to Erich Honecker to visit the PDRY. Erich Honecker cordially returned the greetings conveyed to him and gratefully accepted the invitation.

During their visit, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani and his entourage had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the GDR working people's efforts and successes in sharing the developed socialist society. At a friendship rally, the Koepenick VEB Radio Works they met Berlin working people.

'Ali Nasir Hasani laid a wreath at the Berlin Unter den Linden Monument for the victims of fascism and militarism.

The Yemeni guests visited Leipzig Bezirk. Rolf Oritz, chairman of the bezirk council, briefed them on the bezirk's development, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani visited a unit of the National People's Army in the Leipzig Bezirk.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and SEO Central Committee Politburo member, and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers and UNFPO Central Committee Politburo member, held official talks.

They reflected the identity of views of both parties, states, and peoples on the questions discussed. The consultations were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual understanding.

Participants in the talks were:

On the GDR side, Werner Lamberz, SEO Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, SEO Central Committee member, Council of Ministers deputy chairman and minister of material management, Horst Soelle, SEO Central Committee member and minister of foreign trade, Dr. Klaus Willerding, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Dr Dieter Albrecht, State Planning Commission deputy chairman, Roland Schumann, deputy minister of foreign trade, Guenther Scharfenberg, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the DPRY, and Wolfgang Konschel, head of the Foreign Ministry's Near and Middle East Department.

On the PDRY side Muhammad al-Salih Muti', UNFPO Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, Mahmud 'Aboallah 'Ushaysh, UNFPO Central Committee member, minister of transport and communications, Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, UNFPO Central Committee Member, minister of installations, Muhammad Salim, minister of fish resources, Muhammad Sulayman Nasir, minister of agriculture and agrarian reform, Maj Salih Abu Bakr Bin Husaynun, chief of general staff, Maj Ahmad Salih Hajib, military adviser to the Council of Ministers chairman, 'Abdallah Abbudah Human, head of the Foreign Ministry's "Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe" department, and Faruq Naris 'Ali, DPRY charge d'affaires in the GDR.

Willi Stoph informed 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani about the GDR working people's creative initiatives to implement the Ninth SEO Congress decisions, and about the GDR experience in implementing the socialist revolution. He stressed the fundamental importance the GDR party-state leadership attaches to the constantly deepening alliance of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community.

Willi Stoph affirmed the basic lines of the GDR foreign policy aimed at safeguarding world peace and supplementing political detente with military detente, at implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and promoting international cooperation as well as supporting the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani expressed his high appreciation and recognition of the outstanding achievements and successes of the GDR people under the SEO's leadership in shaping the developed socialist society. He paid tribute to the GDR's foreign policy aimed at consolidating peace, and at solidarity with the peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and racism, and for national independence and social progress.

Proceeding from the decisions of the Unification Party Congress, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani informed Willi Stoph about the positive results achieved by the PDRY people's struggle in the 10 years of its independence in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields.

He explained the topical tasks that the UNFPO, the government, and the people of the PDRY have set for themselves to further deepen the national democratic development, defend their revolutionary achievements, develop their national economy, and establish the vanguard party.

Willi Stoph paid tribute to the PDRY working people's achievements in the social and economic development of the country, as well as to the consistent PDRY foreign policy through which it actively participates in international life, supports peace, freedom, and independence of the peoples, and practices international solidarity. The GDR expressed its sympathy for the PDRY's efforts to implement the unity of the Yemeni people.

Willi Stoph and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani stressed with satisfaction the high level of close, trustful cooperation between the two countries that has developed both on the social and state level in diverse forms. They reaffirmed their intention to intensify these relations to mutual benefit also in the future. They particularly emphasized the significance of personal contacts at a high level.

Willi Stoph assured 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani of the GDR's further firm solidaristic support for the consistent implementation of the progressive course of development in the PDRY.

Both sides declared their firm determination to expand the relations of friendship and of trustful collaboration regarding international questions, as well as their mutually advantageous cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural fields, and to hold regularly consultations on questions of mutual interest.

II

Willi Stoph, SEO Central Committee Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers chairman, and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, UNFPO Central Committee Politburo member and PDRY Council of Ministers chairman, had a comprehensive exchange of opinions on questions concerning the international situation, at which the full agreement of both states was again confirmed.

They stressed that, due to the joint efforts of the states of the socialist community, the progressive nonaligned states and of all anti-imperialist and peace forces, it has been possible to achieve progress in the field of international detente and in implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Willi Stoph and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani expressed their concern over the dangerous endeavors by imperialist, Zionist, and other reactionary forces to undo the previously achieved results in the field of detente through intensifying the arms race, developing and producing new weapons of mass destruction, such as the neutron bomb, and through creating new hotbeds of conflict in the world, and to force a policy of nuclear war brinkmanship upon the peoples.

The GDR and the PDRY are convinced of the need to intensify efforts to protect mankind from the danger of a nuclear war, and for supplementing political detente with military detente. They call for immediate and effective international measures to end the arms race, which would at the same time permit the use of part of the funds alloted to armament for solving economic and social problems.

Willi Stoph and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani emphasized the positive effects of the Helsinki final act on the political climate in Europe and referred to the necessity to constructively continue the work of Helsinki at the Belgrade follow-up meeting.

They stressed the significance of the relations of peaceful coexistence between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the generally valid norms of international law, for peace and the continuation of the process of detente.

In their talks, Willi Stoph and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani paid particular attention to the situation in the Middle East. They are concerned over the continuing tensions in this region which threaten world peace. They are convinced that a just and lasting pace in the Middle East can be achieved only through the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and through the implementation of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of a national state of its own. They regard the PLO as the rightful representative of the Palestinian people. The GDR and the PDRY resolutely condemn the constant Israeli-Zionist aggression against the Arab peoples, the constant violation of human rights by Israel, the expulsion of the Arab population and the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, as well as the aggressor's support by imperialist states.

One-sided concessions and separate agreements with Israel are contrary to Arab solidarity and the unity of the progressive forces in this region. The Tripoli conference results are an important starting point for countering the imperialist and Zionist attempts to weaken the Arab liberation struggle and the Palestinian resistance movement. The GDR and the PDRY regard the unity of action of the progressive Arab states, and their still closer collaboration with the socialist states as well as with all forces of the national and social liberation in the world, as an urgent necessity.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani paid tribute to the support given by the USSR, the GDR, and the other states of the socialist community to the just struggle of the Arab peoples, as well as to the GDR's solidaristic attitude toward the PDRY.

Willi Stoph paid tribute to the PDRY's role in the struggle for peace and security in the Red Sea region.

The GDR and the PDRY are following with growing concern the outbreak of armed conflicts in some areas of Africa, conflicts which—fanned by imperialism and reactionary forces—are designed to divert attention from the liberation struggle by all peoples of Africa. Willi Stoph and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani expressed their grave concern over the conflict in the eastern horn of Africa. They declare their support for the endeavors to preserve the revolutionary achievements, for a democratic and peaceful solution of the regional and bilateral problems in the spirit of the anti-imperlialist solidarity, and of good neighborly relations as well as on the basis of the charter of the Organization of African Unity and the UN charter.

The GDR and the PDRY will continue also in the future to support the just struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against

imperialism, colonialism, Zionism, apartheid, and neocolonialism. They are convinced that the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa will be victorious. They condemn the aggressive machinations of the criminal racist regimes, the constant violation of human rights, and the brutal exploitation of these peoples, and assure them of their solidarity.

Both sides paid tribute to the movement of the nonaligned states as an important factor in the struggle against imperialist interference and exploitation. They agreed that liberation from imperialist oppression and neocolonialist practices is an urgent requirement for obtaining international economic relations based on equal rights, and unrestricted control by all peoples over their natural resources.

The GDR and the PDRY advocate the implementation of the principles and aims of the UN charter, and will coordinate their efforts to strengthen the United Nations organization, its role in the struggle for peace and security in the world, for implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

III

Both sides stressed the need for close cooperation among all anti-imperialist forces for the struggle for peace and international cooperation. They expressed their satisfaction with the solidarity and firm friendship between the two friendly parties, governments, and peoples, as well as their firm intention to further develop and deepen their relations in all fields, to mutual advantage.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani expressed thanks for the cordial reception and hospitality extended to him and his entourage in the GDR.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani, PDRY Council of Ministers chairman and UNFPO Central Committee Politburo member, invited Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman and SEO Central Committee Politburo member, for an official visit to the PDRY. The invitation was gratefully accepted. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

EAST GERMANY

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS SWEDISH CP CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 78 p 1 AU

["Fraternal Greetings to the Stockholm Party Congress: SED Central Committee Wishes the Delegates of the Leftwing Communists Success for the Deliberations Opening Today"]

[Text] To the 25th party congress of the Leftwing Communists, Stockholm:

Dear comrades, the SED Central Committee extends fraternal militant greetings to your 25th party congress.

The GDR communists feel closely linked to the struggle of their Swedish class comrades by the firm ties of a joint struggle of many years for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism.

In the spirit of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the SED will also in the future employ all its strength to help implement the action targets of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties.

We are certain that the relations between the SED and the Swedish Leftwing Communist Party will develop further and deepen in the spirit of mutual internationalistic solidarity for the benefit of the working class and of all the working people of our countries.

The SED wishes success for the deliberations of the 25th party congress of the Leftwing Communists.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary

PARTY, STATE LEADERS GREET BURMA ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 78 p 1 AU

["GDR State Telegram on the 30th Anniversary of Independence: Cordial Congratulations to the Friendly People of Burma"]

[Text] To His Excellency U Ne Win, chairman of the Burmese Socialist Program Party and president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, Rangoon:

Excellency, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the achievement of the independence by Burma I convey to you, the Central Committee of the Burmese Socialist Program Party and to the State Council and people of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma the most cordial congratulations of the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council and people.

By achieving national independence 3 decades ago the Burmese people have made an important contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle and under the leadership of the Burmese Socialist Program Party have successfully embarked upon the road to progressive political, economic and social transformations.

I would like to note with pleasure and satisfaction that the traditionally friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between our parties and states are further developing and deepening for the benefit of the two peoples as well as in the interest of peace and security in all the regions of the world.

I wish the friendly Burmese people new successes in building a progressive society and to you, Excellency, good health, creative vigor and personal wellbeing also in the new year.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, sent a congratulations message to U Maung Kha, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

EAST GERMANY

GDR-SRV AGREEMENT PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part II No 1, 5 January 1978, pages 9-10, promulgates the law, ratified by the GDR People's Chamber on 21 December 1977, on the agreement, dated 4 December 1977, between the GDR and the SRV concerning friendship and cooperation. The agreement is broken down into 9 articles.

The Vietnamese-language text of the agreement is given on pages 11-14 of this issue of GESETZBLATT.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS--The first college textbook in the field of "Marxist-Leninist sociology" and a newly-revised sociological dictionary have just been published at the East Berlin Dietz Publishing House. According to the report of the GDR news agency, ADN, "in Berlin, Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt at the same time, news investigations are underway on the social structure in the territories. Thus, in Dresden Bezirk--to begin with, in Riesa, a metallurgical center of the GDR--'socioeconomic profiles' of the kreises (state administrative units between communities and bezirks) are being drawn up." This concurrence of "important new publications and investigations" is, according to Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, chairman of the Scientific Council for Sociology in the GDR, "no accident." On the contrary, therein "is expressed the further development of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the GDR and the expansion of its field of research." Weidig: "After the analysis of detailed sectors in the 1960's, we have been examining social fundamental processes for as many as 5 or 6 years. The main subjects are the development of the working class, the farmers belonging to cooperatives, and the socialist intelligentsia, and of their developed common interests and their differences. We have thus gained important scientific findings about development trends of the social structure in the GDR and have created theoretical foundations for economic and social policy." With the comprehensive investigations on the social structure of individual territories, a new stage of sociological research reportedly has now been initiated. [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 25, Dec 77 p 9]

JABLONSKI ADDRESSES NATIONAL UNITY FRONT PLENUM

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jan 78 pp 3, 4 AU

[Text of speech by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the All-Poland National Unity Front Committee, at the committee's 11 January plenum]

[Text] Esteemed gathering, our session is taking place immediately following the Second PZPR National Conference and a few weeks before the elections to the basic people's councils.

These two important events in our country's life have directly determined the subjects of this session and its nature.

All of us present here--party members, members of the political parties, nonparty social aktivists and representatives of self-management groups as well as trade union, religious, women's and youth organizations--watched the course of the conference with equal attention.

The conference's appraisal of our achievements since the seventh party congress—of the current state of the country's development, of the weaknesses that are still present and of the conclusions that the party has drawn to improve its work and the further development of our state and society—has provided us with a rich store of inspiration for our own conclusions and for the best possible programming of our own activities.

The Interest of the People's State Is Fused With the Interest of Citizens

We will fulfill our constitutional duty of patriotically uniting all the citizens of our republic round the vital interests of the people and their state only if we embody the directives of the leading political force of the people engaged in socialist construction into specific tasks for the branches of the National Unity Front, for the organizations represented here and for each one of us.

The coming election campaign can and should act as an incentive for every citizen to reflect deeply on the close connection between what

is general and what concerns the development, strength and position of our state as the common asset of all the Polish people. On the one hand, and what every citizen regards as the asset of his community, neighborhood, rural parish, village, town and even his own family and himself. On the other hand, we should create for every citizen the conditions enabling him to base his reflections on reliable knowledge so that he can enhance his civic consciousness, can comprehend the importance of the state act in which he will participate and can have the best possible awareness of his own role in implementing our nationwide tasks and of the effects that accrue for him from this implementation.

The starting point for all kinds of reflections in this regard must be the obviousness of the statement that man-every citizen-is the subject of all the activities of the state. Concern for man-for increasingly better material and cultural conditions of his comprehensive development-stems from the fundamental assumptions of socialism. This concern was the guiding idea of the sixth party congress resolutions, developed at the seventh congress into the program that was adopted by all our people in a nationwide discussion. This concern is demonstrated by the consistent implementation of this program and by the great strategic economic maneuver that we are now implementing under the party's political leader-ship.

What is our foreign policy as a whole, and what are all our efforts to consolidate the process of detente, to guarantee peace throughout the world and to achieve harmonious cooperation among all states and nations if not a persevering and consistent struggle for the most sacred human right—the right to live? When we stretch out our friendly hand to the peace—loving nations, and when, in the international arena, we support the liberation efforts of the people who are suffering colonial oppression, condemn the crimes of racism, unmask the plottings of the revanchists and try to help extinguish the hotbeds of conflicts in the world, we are waging a struggle for the peace of Polish mothers so that there is no need for them to be frightened for the future of their children and to ask themselves what could become of them if the time of war, destruction, ruin and death should return.

And if we are caring for the halting of armaments and if we are making efforts toward disarmament, we do so also because we want to remove every danger of war, to expunge its very name from current dictionaries and to use arms expenditures for the benefit of man.

Our voice in the international arena is resounding with increasing clarity and force and is increasingly important in the international arena for two closely connected reasons.

[First], our state's strength and economic, scientific and cultural potentials are increasing, and our clear and consistent foreign and domestic policies are earning esteem and regard. Our activity in the

international arena helps strengthen the forces of peace, facilitate the country's economic development and increase our share in the international division of labor. Second, we are not alone; we have a fraternal alliance with the main bulwark of all the peace forces in the world—the Soviet Union—and with other socialist states, which pursue the same aims. Close friendship and cooperation help promote the economic development of all the countries of the socialist community, enhance their impact on international relations, strengthen the realistic and peaceful trends in the capitalist states and effectively cool off the tempers of those who are trying by every possible means to foment trouble in order to halt the ever progressive process of detente.

This is precisely why we have had such a long period of peace in Europe, a feature unknown for a very long time. It is because of this peace that we have been able to achieve so much in our national economy and culture and to implement the difficult and bold, but also feasible, program for our further unceasing development.

It is because of the new balance of power in the world, which was created with our participation, that there is something new in our history, something that many generations of our people have never known: Already a second generation of our nation is growing up without any knowledge of what a war means and without any expectations of war and its attendant calamities.

Every citizen must bear this in mind when debating the development of his town or village and when drawing up plans for the future of his children and grandchildren. Every citizen is now able to contemplate feasible plans based on reliable reality created by the entire domestic policy pursued by our people's state. He can do all this because he lives in a system created and developed by the people for the people, in a system of true democracy, which is there for him all the time and not merely on some festive occasions, as is the case in many countries where the fine term of democracy denotes contents incompatible with it.

The real nature of our democracy is based on the integral unity of mutually interacting economic, social, cultural and political rights of the citizen, which is possible only under the conditions of socialism, because only under such conditions can the country's economy be fully geared to the task of meeting society's needs.

At the London meeting of the "big seven" of the capitalist states, Italian Prime Minister Andreotti said: "One of the basic human rights is the right to work, and we should guarantee this right for everyone, especially for young people..."

The Italian prime minister was right, nor is there any reason to doubt the sincerity of his pronouncement. Nevertheless, neither Italy nor any other big capitalist state has been able to solve this problem and to fulfill this, "one of the basic human rights." And as for our difficulties in this regard: Have they been any less? On the contrary: They were the most important problem of our society when the sixth party congress was mapping out future party activities and determining the aims and tasks of our people's collective effort. After all, at that time we were reaching a special stage of our people's natural increase, as attested to by the fact that in the present decade exceptionally large numbers of young people will have reached production age.

Increasing the Effectiveness of Work Is an Ambition of All Our People

The program for the country's comprehensive development—this program relates current tasks to long—term prospects—includes possibilities for solving all the basic social problems, among them the complete implementation of the constitutional right to work. The gigantic scope of investments to increase national wealth, to expand our production capacities and the base of raw materials on an unprecedented scale and to enhance the state's economic strength and international position will bring dividends for many years and will become the foundation of our country's further transformations. Not all investments have been completed and not all of the completed ones have reached their full production capacities. This is a question of time, but right now we can state that they have created jobs for millions and millions of young people.

We must add that we have been creating these jobs at the same time that we have been modernizing our industry on a large scale. This is why these new jobs are very expensive and can be entrusted only to skilled personnel, exactly like those now under training in our greatly expanded educational institutions. This means that perhaps our most valuable asset—the resources of manpower, knowledge and skills—will not be wasted, but will be utilized for our common benefit by always raising our society's material prosperity and increasingly promoting the development of education, science and culture.

This is a practical lesson that demonstrates how the interest of the people's state and of its citizens is fused. And if during this 7-year period nothing more had been achieved, we could still be proud of this achievement of our people, for implementing the right to work helps implement many other rights, including the right to protection of the family as the basic social unit, the right to recreation, the right to secure old age, to education, to participation in the management of the affairs of the state and society and so on and so forth.

There is no need to prove the mutual interaction of all these rights when implemented, nor is it necessary to prove that the scope of this implementation is determined by the state's economic possibilities and, above all, by the general direction of state policy. It should also be added that in implementing these rights the state creates new problems and stimulates new social needs; the family, which must support also its

jobless members, trims its needs; and young people without work postpone their marriages. But when you have full employment these problems cease to exist.

This is also the case when wages are raised; when the scope of vacations is enlarged; when mother and child care is expanded; when special benefits are given to the disabled, veterans and so on; when free medical care is extended to new groups of the population: The spending of these groups goes down, and new investment and manpower problems arise.

If young people are sure that their jobs and thus their livelihood are guaranteed, they set about raising a family and want their own apartments. And when the state, responding to these needs, sets about implementing a large-scale housing program, the demand for furniture, household equipment and so on begins to increase.

You could go on and on, listing examples of how solving some social problems created new problems which require an intensified effort by the state.

The supreme echelons of the party and the state were certainly aware of the multiple consequences issuing from an active social policy when they drew up the sixth party congress resolutions and supplemented and developed them in the seventh congress program and when they adopted the labor code, of which we are justly proud.

The crux of the matter is that the very character of our state and of the ideology we profess dictate the need to face up to social problems and to solve them instead of shirking them. They dictate the need to devise increasingly exacting tasks in this regard as an important contribution to the efforts to create material and cultural conditions for optimally accelerating the construction of a developed socialist society.

This is why we recognize as a paramount directive of all state activities the principle of relating economic growth to efforts to improve living and working conditions at all times, to steadily increase the citizens' share in running the affairs of the state and society and to constantly deepen socialist democracy.

This is why the enormous investment efforts, which are thoroughly changing the material foundations of our national economy, are accompanied by consistently implemented large-scale programs for solving vital social problems, such as, the housing question, food, the educational reform, and health care. This is why our comprehensive social policy, which is affecting all the groups of our population, is accompanied by our efforts to strengthen and increasingly promote all the forms of self-management, which we regard as very important. This is why we are trying to invest the slogan "For the people by the people" with increasingly profound meaning in the daily practice of social life.

The Second PZPR National Conference was for party members and nonparty people an occasion to reflect on all the aspects of our state policy. It was with great satisfaction that we summed up and reviewed the results of our people's concordant efforts in the present decade, especially in the past 2 years, which have been full of difficulties, but all the same successful. The conference gave us rich proof that the economic maneuver initiated by the fifth plenum is correct and that it has created the conditions for implementing the seventh congress' social program. During the conference we deliberated on what effective action for the increasing benefit of the state and society we should take in order to properly utilize the enormous potential of our economy, the greatly advanced process by which we are modernizing our assets, the firm support of CEMA, the increasingly better position we are assuming with regard to the international division of labor, the ever increasing experience of cadres, the good training, enthusiasm and talents of young people and the inexhaustible production skills of our people--who are profoundly patriotic and morally healthy. This is why it was with the keenest attention that we followed the conference debates, which enabled us to fully comprehend all aspects of the appeal addressed to the people to raise the effectiveness of economic management.

This poses for the mass of social aktivists a most important task—to make these great riches of the conference's deliberations a personal property of every citizen, to free the initiative of all communities, to make the efforts to increase the effectiveness of one's work an ambition of not only the authorities of all administrative and economic levels, but also of every Polish woman and man. They should do this because, if our economy and culture develop with increasing effectiveness and if the tasks we tackle are increasingly difficult and ambitious, then more obvious will be the correctness of the truth that the socialist state's main productive force is the awareness of the masses and their moral—ideological unity in the march toward common, national aims.

The strength of this truth is enhanced by the constantly rising level of general education and by the spread of political and economic knowledge and, consequently, by the increasingly easier comprehension of the Polish process of history and of the place occupied in this process by the socialist stage of development as well as by the increasingly more profound understanding of the leading role of the party, whose policy is producing results obvious to anyone who has eyes and the good will to see the truth.

These are very important elements of shaping civic consciousness. But by themselves they do not contain such a factor of consequential importance as personal civic commitment and are unable to exert an adequate influence to stimulate a citizen's active attitude toward the affairs of the state and the people. It is the comprehensively expanded forms of socialist democracy that serve this purpose.

Its foundation is the unity of economic, social, cultural and political rights; and its indestructible principle is the unity of the rights of all citizens. Except for the socialist system, this democracy has not been implemented anywhere else, because it cannot be. We can also be proud that our state's entire socialist policy is aimed at increasingly implementing Marx' thesis that "equality is measured by an equal yard-stick." This yardstick is represented by work, contributions to the common national assets and patriotism that is not merely lip service but true patriotism conceived as a sense of responsibility for the fate of the fatherland. And, if we deviate from this principle, it is only when profound humanism of our system requires this, for example: when we extend care to the disabled, when we provide free medical assistance or when we expand and improve the communal facilities for the use of all our citizens.

Great Nationwide Importance of Elections to Basic People's Councils

The principles of social equality and justice and of people's power presuppose the unity of the forms of direct and representational democracy and the commitment of the various forms of self-management—workers, rural, cooperate or neighborhood self-management groups—to helping solve national and local problems of economic, social and cultural life. This creates a structure of socialist democracy that is universal because it involves the entire population and supports the political system, within which the PZPR, the leading force of the people, is the people's first servant. On the other hand, the PZPR's cooperation with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the Democratic Party is a basis for patriotically uniting all the organizations of the working people and all the citizens within the National Unity Front.

The efforts to constantly expand the front's activities, to strengthen the social self-management groups and to stimulate their cooperation with the state organs of power constitute the law of the socialist society's development. Under these conditions people's power ceases to be a dream of only the most noble men and women, as was the case for centuries, but becomes an everyday reality. And how these possibilities can be utilized depends merely on citizens themselves and on their awareness.

This is yet further proof of the correctness of the thesis that the interests of the socialist state are closely fused with the best interests of each individual citizen. The higher the political consciousness and culture of citizens, the more profound their comprehension of the party-sponsored development lines, the higher their moral standards and the more noble the motivation of their conduct—then the easier it is to enhance the people's unity around the implementation of all our common aims and to free social energy, ingenuity and initiative and the greater is the certainty that the party directives on the methods of the work that enables us to implement our state and national tasks as soon

as possible will be fulfilled. At the same time, the development of the possibilities available to citizens to constantly increase their influence on state and social affairs, to increasingly avail themselves of the benefits of socialist democracy and to enhance their social commitment and militancy helps create conditions for correctly developing the personality of each citizen, for enriching him spiritually, for stimulating his ambition to lead in work and in socially useful activities and, by drawing him into wider and wider areas of the people's life, for shaping his personal attitudes, increasing his experiences and ennobling his ambitions.

In the light of this it is obvious why the party, confronting the people with the economic and social problems involved in the implementation of historically ambitious plans, devoted so much place at its second national conference to the affairs of man, culture, education, national unity and the development of socialist democracy.

Presenting with profound thoroughness the problems of improving the state and intensifying socialist democracy, Comrade Edward Gierek put forward three main current tasks: strengthening all forms of social self-management, especially workers self-management; raising the standards of performance of people's councils; and establishing a consistent and effective system of social control. At the same time, he outlined specific proposals concerning the necessary solutions. Each of these important state tasks is of utmost interest to the National Unity Front, and to each of them we must devote much attention in our further activity. We must mobilize all our aktivs for efforts to explain to our citizens the complete meaning of the far-reaching concepts contained in these directives.

Of course, we realize that this propaganda and explanatory work is just a beginning, a starting point for the front's long-term cooperation in the activities to perfect the nature and performance of socialist democracy in our country.

We also realize that the entire system of democratic institutions will be able to influence the people's life more effectively to the extent to which this system's smallest components are stronger and to the extent to which our society accepts more profoundly the second conference directives.

This is precisely why the importance of the elections to basic people's councils is so great and nationwide. We should bear in mind that the various elements of social democracy are most closely linked in rural parishes, towns and town districts. In these areas citizens come into direct contact with state offices, petition for decisions they need and, through personal experience, learn to appreciate the effectiveness of economic and general management, the rational nature and efficiency of the work done by other people and, indirectly, by themselves and where

they develop their attitudes to what is a common asset, to what is their property and what is the property of others. In these areas they are able to take a direct share, passive and active, in the community's life and to exert their influence on their own neighborhoods, where they work and live, and thus on all the aspects of national life. It is also in these areas that one of the most characteristic features of the socialist system—the elimination of the division of the community into the governed and the governing—can be observed with increasing clarity as the socialist system is consolidated and develops. This is because all citizens are entitled to share in government and in responsibility for the fate of their state and people.

The experience we have gained, following the administrative reform carried out in 1972-75 has fully confirmed this. However, this is no place to discuss this experience, especially since the State Council will soon present to the Sejm a concise report on this matter. Nevertheless, even now we can state that this reform has fully passed its test, has improved administration for the benefit of the state and the community and has transformed the people's councils into true bodies of government and into genuine, basic organs of social self-management--organs that are still gaining in authority.

We now know that it was absolutely correct to entrust them with problems of individual and cooperative farming, with the basic network of educational and cultural centers, the health service, the communal and housing economy, supervision of services and market supplies and with coordinating powers that enable them to exert influence on the industrial enterprises within their areas.

The plan, announced at the second national party conference, to increase the importance of the socioeconomic plans in towns and rural parishes, to give towns and parishes greater budgetary freedom and to enhance their coordinating powers, will increase their role still further, will make it easier for them to run the economic, social and cultural affairs in their own areas and to expand their organizational, inspirational and control activities, will increase their authority in society and will create a climate in which the forms of direct democracy can be consolidated.

The method of consultations, which is being used with increasing success in many rural parishes and towns, can and should be propagated to the greatest extent possible. The present consultation meetings, at which candidates for the elections to the people's councils are discussed, can supply good examples of how we should commit our citizens to solving problems that are important for their areas.

To Translate Party and State Policy Into a Language of Specific Local Problems

All this makes it necessary for the present election campaign to achieve a number of crucial aims. Above all it should help us to spread the knowledge of the achievements of the second national party conference and to deepen the knowledge of the tasks facing the people's councils and of the possibilities and methods of effective performance. The election campaign should also become a factor of ideopolitical education to enable citizens to realize how much depends on their work and to intensify their activities. Finally, it should help elect the councillors who are able to discharge their important and responsible functions.

It goes without saying that, although during this campaign some identical problems will come to surface in rural parishes and towns, the character and the methods by which these problems have to be solved will vary. This will be so with problems such as town and country planning, environmental protection, water economy, care over schools in connection with the school reform, health protection, services, commerce and so on. There is no doubt, however, that problems specific for the given areas will dominate.

It is essential for rural parish councils to boost farm production and the processing of farm produce. Concerned for the food of the nation, the state is spending enormous and ever increasing funds for this purpose. Rural parish councils should see to it that these funds, machinery and materials are distributed fairly, that they produce the desired results and that they are used effectively.

Rural parish councils should pay their main attention to the task of fully and effectively utilizing farmland, which is our great national asset. The feeling for the land, which begets life all the time, is one of the fine traditions of our rural areas. The current expression of this feeling must be such work of the rural community as to implement the slogan: "Soil must bear fruit." Rural parish councils, as the spokesmen for local communities and for the state, must see to it that all the obstacles hindering the implementation of this slogan are removed.

We expect that through their social activities the rural parish councils will favor production progress in rural areas, cooperative farming and other forms of cooperation and the establishment of specialized farms.

Acting in accordance with the will of the inhabitants of rural parishes, the people's councils should exert control over the performance of agricultural services and supplies.

To implement these tasks the people's councils must improve their system of performance within presidiums, sessions and committees and, together with the National Unity Front branches, widely popularize the policy of the party and the state, translate it into the language of specific local problems, mobilize people to solve these problems and influence social initiative. For this reason, they must rely on rural self-management groups above all. The situation in this regard differs greatly in the individual regions of the country, from special bodies coordinating all forms of self-management in rural parishes to merely formal coordination. This is why, especially where the situation calls for telling improvements, it would be desirable to tackle these issues during the election campaign and to pay keen attention to them after the elections.

The position and role of the rural stewards as important liaison agents between the villages and the rural parish councils and the position and role of rural meetings as the basic element of direct democracy are equally important. We have many positive experiences in coordinating all forms of democracy in rural parishes. What matters now is to popularize these experiences.

Like every community of a highly developed country, we are becoming more and more an urban community. This is a natural result of the changes in the country's socioeconomic structure and poses many complicated problems such as housing construction, to name but one. But it is necessary to state that under our political conditions we have every possibility of being able to guide the development of cities in keeping with the socialist vision of life.

Concern for this should influence all the activities of the people's councils in towns—when they adopt decision on town planning, on the development of the infrastructure, on construction, on housing and communal economy and on the proper satisfaction of social needs.

Social Control Is an Inseparable Attribute of People's Rule

The great efforts made by the entire economy to alleviate and eliminate the tensions that have appeared in the market must be supported by efforts to improve the organization and performance of trade and to implement and enrich consistently the program for developing services. This is an important aspect of our activities to improve the quality of our life.

Enlisting the help of self-management groups run by neighborhood residents provides enormous possibilities for the implementation by the people's councils of all their tasks. This is because it will undoubtedly be possible to meet more effectively many needs of the inhabitants of our housing settlements if these inhabitants take matters into their own hands. This also applies to the organization of the internal life of

settlements, personal relationships, the culture of living together and so on. The recent increasing examples of cooperation between the self-management groups run by residents and workers self-management groups are especially valuable.

People's councils, whose legal duty is to guide the socioeconomic development in their areas, should utilize their powers to inspire, coordinate and control all the units of administration and the economy, looking for possibilities to further improve the quality of work and to increase the production of the goods in demand in the home market, to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of investments, to better exploit the working time of manpower and machinery, to correctly administer fiscal resources and raw and other materials, to strengthen the discipline of wages and the budget, to create better working conditions and to improve the standards and discipline of work.

Many of the aforementioned issues are only seemingly outside the scope of the activities of the urban people's councils. Experience has shown that many of these councils have rendered great services in helping to develop the character and quality of production, to promote the administration of materials, to exploit local resources, to shape manpower policy and so on. In this case, too, what is particularly important is cooperation between the councils and workers self-management groups, whose role the second national party conference evaluated so highly and assessed as the most important element of social self-management.

If we wanted to give the briefest definition possible of all the tasks facing basic people's councils in towns and rural areas, we would be justified in stating that the most crucial feature of the current activities is to exert an effective impact on the bodies of administration and the economy, on the one hand, and on the local communities, on the other.

Social control checks, which are an inseparable attribute of people's power, have a great role to play in the first of these two areas of activities.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of universal, permanent and well organized social control checks for the efforts to raise the effectiveness of economic management. Such checks can and should reveal and eliminate negative phenomena such as bad economic management, waste, favoritism, abuse and bribery. These checks can and should become an important factor in strengthening society's sense of shared responsibility and in fostering its skill and habits of viewing things around it with the concern of one who really cares. This is because we must see to it that every citizen regards it as his duty to combat the evil things he sees around him and to work in an exemplary manner to add to our common assets.

Our political system contains many mechanisms by which it can socially control the performance of the state administration. The control exercized by the party is of decisive importance. It is also the party which directs all the other forms of social control.

The people's councils also have particular duties to perform in this regard. After all, they occupy a central place in the system of socialist democracy, and their activities affect all the affairs of individual areas. This is why they should coordinate control exercized by trade unions, by the self-management groups run by neighborhood residents, by cooperative self-management groups and by social organizations. Coordinating social control checks in their own areas, utilizing the enormous potential of these checks and insuring the implementation of the proposals resulting from them, the people's councils will help bind citizens to the state and expand the social base of people's power.

Drawing for strength on their close cooperation with society, the people's councils should also influence their own local communities by tapping their initiative and militancy in order to help implement local programs for socioeconomic development. Each rural parish and town possess reserves in the shape of local forces and resources, the utilization of which would accelerate the solution of the crucial living problems of the local residents. The complete exploitation of this reserve potential should become an ambition of each community and the subject of a noble competition among them.

Social production pledges are a tested form of the civil cooperation between local communities and the state and represent an eloquent example of the residents' independent activities to raise the quality of their living standards.

The socialist state "needs" the participation of the masses in government, and this is why we attach such a great role to linking the state forms of democracy to nonstate forms and the institutions of representational democracy to direct democracy.

If they want to discharge their functions effectively, the people's councils must not restrict themselves to the purely economic sphere of activity. It is equally important that, together with the National Unity Front committees, they engage in educational activities and enrich and shape the knowledge and consciousness of citizens.

This is because not lip service but social practice can help effectively to strengthen one's conviction that effective work is valuable and to propagate the qualities we want to make an inseparable feature of our national character and which are component parts of the resolve and skill of effective collective activities to implement common tasks and aims.

We must win people's minds and hearts for the socialist system of values and for the way of life consistent with this system so as to build a moral order and to combat negative social features with resolution and consistency.

By integrating the communities in the rural and urban areas, the people's councils help strengthen the attachment of residents to their neighborhoods, to their history and to current affairs, and in this way they help create positive local patriotism, which is the mainspring of efforts for the benefit of one's village or town—efforts that are inspired by the ambition and responsibility of those who share in governing their own areas and that enhance one's belief in one's own strength and potential.

Second PZPR National Conference Resolutions Are the Election Platform of the National Unity Front

Comrades and citizens, in our country the election campaign is a most extensive forum of consultations on the lines of the development of our entire country as well as regions, rural parishes and towns.

This campaign also presents an opportunity for complete social control checks affecting all the activities of the people's councils and local administration—checks which express most fully the principle of responsibility of the authorities before society.

The campaign is also a process during which society elects, in a truly democratic election, as its representatives the men and women who are most active and who enjoy authority and the electorate's confidence. We will elect a mighty army of 100,000 councillors from among the candidates who—as a result of the consultations in party organizations, in political parties, social organizations and self-management groups—will be placed on the National Unity Front lists.

The present election campaign should therefore become an important step along the road of strengthening socialist democracy and of raising society's political standards to higher and higher levels. In this way this campaign will well serve the implementation of the second national party conference program.

Esteemed gathering, during this year will occur the 60th anniversary of our independence, following the partitions, the 35th anniversary of the Polish People's Armed Forces, the 30th anniversary of the unification of the workers movement and the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP].

Intensified reflection on these events and their historical significance—the National Unity Front should be especially active in this—will help enlarge our knowledge of the historical conditions of our development;

strengthen our conviction of the inseparability of patriotism and internationalism and of the unity of the class and national contents of the program devised by the revolutionary workers movement, the creator of the only correct liberation concept, the organizer of the struggle for our free, independent and sovereign state and the chief architect of the Polish People's Republic; and deepen the comprehension of the necessity for the common purpose of our generations with regard to socialist construction.

The unity of our people's position with regard to the most important issue of our fatherland and with regard to work to enhance its prosperity is the main source of all our achievements. This is because the whole of our people help create Poland's strength and our community's prosperity. The Politburo report to the second party conference and the resolutions adopted by it presented to our people a very clear and specific program for further activities. On behalf of the Central Consultative Committee of the PZPR and the political parties I propose that the second conference decisions should constitute the election platform of the National Unity Front in the coming elections to basic people's councils. platform will be an important cohesive element in strengthening our society's ideomoral unity to be expressed in work for the fatherland, for the communities in which we live, for our families and for each one of us individually. This unity is the guarantee that we will overcome all difficulties and tensions and fulfill all our economic and social plans, even the most ambitious ones.

This is why we have every right to assert that the entire community will support our program—both during elections and every day during its implementation—at every post, in rural and urban areas.

There is only one condition for this: that we tell the truth about this program to every Polish man and woman.

This is the main task of National Unity Front aktivists in the present election campaign.

POLAND

GMINA COOPERATIVES SCORED FOR NON-PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 14 Jan 78 p 2

[Article by M.P.: "Not Buy, Not Sell, and Make Money"]

[Text] In every gmina, whenever word comes in of an allotment of asbestic tile for the coming quarter, the gmina manager has a lot of work arranging a list of those who want it. I have talked with a number of GS [Gmina Cooperative] chairmen and they were not happy with the size of the deliveries. "They still owe us a couple of thousand square meters. We will dun then, we will impose the agreed penalty charge..." When I remarked that no one will cover a roof with penalty charges, the speakers helplessly spread their hands.

The Asbestoc-Cement Products Plant in Malkinia produce the asbestic tile to meet the needs of northeast Poland. The plant warehouses are always full of this sought-after item, but there is nothing with which to ship it out. I am speaking about these particular plants, but the situation in the other regions of the country is not so good. The plants have an obligation to deliver asbestic tile to the customer, meaning the GC. Only with what? The factory does not have its own means of transportation; it depends on the railroad. Difficulties which are commonly known bring it about that there are too few railroad cars. So how does it happen that the asbestos tile leaves the warehouses at all?

Andrzsj Ojdana, the economic director of the plant in Malkinia, says that those who really depend upon getting it send their own vehicles or tractors for the merchandise. But the gmina cooperatives? The ones which are located near a railroad station will always get some supplies. But the others—"They will dun us, will impose the agreed penalty charges, and the allotment will fall through anyway, because we have no possible way to deliver the tiles."

There is still another modern product which, for all practical purposes, does not get to the countryside, namely insulating panel made from mineral wool. This famous, light, non-flammable insulation could find wide use on

the farm. But even here there is no possible way to deliver the panels to the customers. Director Jozef Sienuicki, manager of the "Izolaeja" Plant in Nidzica, complained that he must often limit production because there is no way to send out the finished panels. Large construction enterprises receive them by shuttle trains; when these fail, they send trucks. And this is nothing to wonder at; they depend on getting the panels and agreed penalty charges will not help them.

I could not, therefore, understand the opposition of the GS chairman to whom I said that they could get everything for their farmers if they would send the means of transporation. Certainly, it is difficult to persuade a gmina cooperative to create completing transportation enterprises; they assign their own not overly large transport means to ship that which is the most important today, coal or pigs, for example. Despite this, though, I get the impression that they much prefer dunning and penalty charges to finding, if nothing else, a private carrier. Gmina cooperatives are trade institutions. From the re-sale of merchandise they get a profit margin of from 10 to 13 percent, while agreed penalty charges amount to 15 percent of the price of the merchandise. If one counts in savings on handling, filling out receipts, counting, measuring, and the whole process of being bothered by the buyers, then self-interest prompts them to see to it that the sought-after merchandise does not make it to the gmina cooperatives. The profit is markedly larger when one sells nothing.

Can we somehow cure this paradoxical situation? The one really injured link in the producer-customer chain are the farmers, so maybe the agreed penalty charges should go to them. If the GS, instead of that 12 percent, get nothing, maybe this will be some stimulus to exert themselves hunting for the sought-after merchandise, to move their heads instead of scraping a pen to write out a dunning notice.

PROFESSIONAL PRESS JOURNAL VIEWS POLISH MEDIA

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 12, Dec 77 pp 1-6

[Article by Z.E.T.: "Effect of Mass Media in the Light of Research on the Press; Eighth Plenary Session of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Journalists"]

[Text] The subject of the eighth plenary session of the main administration of the Association of Polish Journalists, held on 24 October of this year, concerned particularly important problems of our milieu, the relationships between the activity of the mass media and scientific research which we call generally press research. This sort of research has been going on in Poland in nearly 30 different centers. There are many periodicals devoted to the press, radio, and television. It is commonly stated that our press research enjoys a good reputation abroad and is distinguished by its decidedly empirical methodology. There is development in terms of quality, but in criticizing ourselves we must admit that most of the development is in terms of quantity. It is therefore not surprising that its record of achievement, which Docent Dr Walery Pisarek described at the beginning of the session, created great interest. In taking the floor, people taking part in the discussion did not completely agree with the speaker.

Nevertheless, let us begin with a brief presentation of the main ideas of Dr Pisarek's statement. He talked about how the effect of our press, radio, and television looks in the light of press research, the extent to which these information and propaganda media carry out their task, and what should be improved in their work.

He said that the patronage of practical work on most of the press research potential in Poland has both good and bad effects. Among the good effects are the relatively large financial outlays for research and the great efficiency and timeliness. Researchers have the possibility of setting up mass-oriented questionnaires. Practitioners really receive an answer -- it is true that the value of the answer varies -- to the questions which they pose. On the other hand, rewarding the satisfaction of immediate needs, this patronage does not further theoretical reflection, methodological experimentation, or synthesizing undertakings.

Scope of Reception of Press, Radio, and Television

Nearly all the inhabitants of Poland over 13 years of age have a continual or occasional contact with the press, radio, and television or with at least one of these three major channels of mass communication. This means that reading the press, listening to the radio, and watching television is practically a universal phenomenon, but both observations and research cause us to make certain corrections in this optimistic picture. Insofar as the press is concerned, we find a shortage of many titles, owing to the short supply of paper (if mere demand for them were used to determine output, some periodicals could double the number of copies from week to wweek). It is probably not a secret from anyone that after a dozen and some years of continual (but not necessarily even) growth in the number of copies of newspapers printed, we are now noting a decline. Comparing data from the years 1973-1976 we see a small decline in the number of copies of general information newspapers printed at one time. On the other hand, because during this same period not only did Poland's population increase numerically but also there was an increase in the proportion of the population which falls into the category of potentially being the most active readers (that is, urban dwellers aged over 20 years with secondary or college diplomas), the relative decline in the number of newspapers printed is greater than the absolute.

One optimistic phenomenon here is the increase in printing and circulation of TRYBUNA LUDU, an increase unprecedented in the history of People's Poland. Among the press titles in shortest supply at present are: RTV [RADIO I TELE-VIZJA], FORUM, MAGAZYN RODZINNY, MOTOR, KOBIETA I ZYCIE, ZYJMY DLUZEJ, PANORAMA, PRAWO I ZYCIE, PRZEKROJ, and PERSPEKTYWY.

Insofar as radio is concerned, we find that 88 percent of households have at least one radio. Eighty-two percent of these families have one radio, 24 percent have two, and barely 2 percent have three or four, but one radio is not necessarily like another. Eighty percent of the people with radios say they can get programs on low-frequency band without static. This is about 70 percent of all families.

Sixty-eight percent of the people with radios, or about 80 percent of all families, say they can tune in the medium-wave band, but only 38 percent of the people with radios, or about 33 percent of all families, can get ultra-short wave. These data do not sound at all optimistic, nor does the general finding that by and large only every other family in Poland has in the house a radio in good technical working order, and only one out of every four can get the three basic Polish Radio wave ranges. The percentage of people with radios is substantially higher in the large cities (95 percent) than in rural areas (84 percent) and in families of college graduates (98 percent) than in families of elementary-school graduates (76 percent). The radio industry in Poland still faces tremendous tasks.

There is a far more favorable situation in the area of the popularization of television. Suffice it to say that we have already reached a level where a greater percentage of people have television sets than radios. There are also more families who have television sets but no radio than those having radios but no television set. Television (especially Program I) in recent years has become the most widespread mass medium of communication in Poland. We must still remember here that when we speak of the scope of press and radio reception, we are adding up the reception of a hundred and a few dozen different titles and four various programs. On the other hand, when we talk about television reception, we are in practice speaking about reception of one and the same program by all viewers. One Pole out of every ten thinks he has no need of the press, because television and radio are enough for him.

On the other hand, we should not equate relevision's satisfaction of needs with that of the press. People are looking for different things in them and select different things from the content offered. As in other countries with a developed system of mass communication regardless of sociopolitical regime (that is, for example, in the USSR and United States), so too in Poland television is seen primarily as a supplier of entertainment and look to the press for information and commentary concerning events. Translating this into the language of everyday practice we can say that the main reason for buying a television set is the desire to see films, while the main reason for buying a newspaper (and to a great extent also a radio) is the need to know about what has happened in the world.

In our country, roughly speaking, the scope of reception of press, radio, and television is related to their physical accessibility. The expansion of television stations and the rather good supply of popular television sets which are not too expensive on the market have led not only to the fact that 90 percent of households have television sets but also to the fact that just about every Pole is a television viewer. The poor supply of radios in the shops, especially better quality radios, given the increasing requirements of listeners, has contributed along with other factors to a decline in the scope of radio reception. It has been only recently that there has been a tendency toward correcting this situation. Of course the press is far more subject to fluctuations in demand than radio and television are.

There are still aglaring differences in the use of the press, radio, and television between one region and another. The relationship between press assessibility and its readership also shows up in the structure of the various titles' public. Hence, newspapers distributed only in towns, like morning daily papers, have mainly an urban public, and on the other hand the public of local party newspapers is most like the structure of the population of the whole country.

Which Items Enjoy the Greatest Interest?

Editorial offices' impressions concerning the readers and their interests are usually -- although we cannot say always -- correct. Even so, journalists

overestimate the scope and magnitude of readers' interest in foreign travel, fashion, and the automotive industry and, on the other hand, underestimate their interest in culinary tips, announcements, experiences of well-known personalities, World War II, local news, and daily life in other countries. Everybody knows, however, that the most popular part of the daily paper is the current radio and television section.

Research presently being conducted shows that the view of the opinion of the milieu has the most powerful influence on the decision to include a given piece of material or to leave it out. Today the Polish journalist counts on it most. This probably means that his pen is also guided more by the idea of how his colleagues in journalism will react to his words than readers and superiors.

The greatest and most massive interest of the mass media public is enjoyed (besides accounts of trials, accidents, and catastrophes) first of all by material which can be used in everyday life and second by material concerning market supply and earnings. In third place are materials describing conflicts, with fourth place going to entertaining material, and fifth to local material. Of course, presenting the hierarchy of social interests on the scale of the whole society shifts to the forefront the interest in the most numerous social categories. Interests are structured differently when viewed on the scale of various groups.

Readers do not overestimate individual journalists' influence on the content of our press, radio, and television. The public believes that it is determined first of all by party directives, the social importance of the subject, and current propaganda goals. A significant percentage of readers feels that there is not enough information about what is going on in our country and abroad.

Just about one Pole out of every three expresses the opinion that our press presents reality in Poland and in other socialist countries in too rosy a light, and that in the capitalist countries too dark. Among daily papers readers trust most TRYBUNA LUDU, among sociopolitical periodicals, POLITYKA, and among magazines, PRZYJACIOLKA.

What Does the Effectiveness of Influence Depend Upon?

Does our press merit having its every word believed? In the light of the results of questionnaires on the reliability of local news published in our daily spapers it is unfortunately difficult to give a positively affirmative answer to this question. In comparison to reality it turned out that just about every other press statement contains some sort of meritorical error. We find misspelled names, distorted institutional names, wrong dates, oversights of major elements of the event, or distortions of the relationships between them. These sins happen to even the most renowned journalists.

Among other things, perhaps as the result of insufficient working care on the part of journalists, only relatively few consumers can or decide to name a journalist whom they particularly admire, one with whose opinions they agree and whose word they believe. Here public opinion is so dispersed that I do not dare mention anyone, but it is characteristic that all the repeated names are first of all those of journalists who at least sporadically appear before the television cameras and second, international journalists. On the other hand, there are no names of journalists who specialize in national domestic problems.

The effectiveness of the influence of each channel of information and propaganda depends to a great extent on whether a person likes it. In the light of research during the past few weeks we find that the following are among our best liked newspapers and periodicals: PRZYJACIOLKA, KOBIETA I ZYCIE, PRZEKROJ, POLITYKA, TRYBUNA LUDU, KULISY, EXPRESS WIECZORNY, PANORAMA, and PERSPEKTYWY.

Of course the form of the statements published in them has an important effect on the effectiveness of the influence of the press. I am omitting the question of the quality of the print and paper. Most readers are decidedly in favor of smaller newspaper formats and against large ones. Despite the practice of most editorial offices, readers prefer a smaller number of larger photographs per column than a larger number of smaller pictures.

We have already become used to complaints about the sloppy language used by journalists. Often these complaints are justified, but at least equally often they are not. Press, radio, and television have contributed incompably more to the spread of good general Polish usage than to faulty grammar. From the viewpoint of the effectiveness of the influence of the press, radio, and television, more dangerous than grammatical, lexical, or orthographic errors from time to time are verbosity, glaring pretensiousness in the length of statements, various stylistic fads and mannerisms, and, above all, incomprehensibility. Insofar as the mass-oriented press goes, mainly readers of TRYBUNA LUDU, FORUM, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and POLITYKA complain that the language is too difficult.

On the other hand, far more distressing than readers' complaints of just these periodicals is the fact that more than an average level of difficulty characterizes texts which the editors should be particularly interested in popularizing (that is, the most important texts in terms of ideological and moral content). The directive-oriented style manifested in the overuse of the words "must," "should," "have to," "need to," and so on is another typical weakness of these texts.

The propaganda effectiveness of our mass media is sometimes reduced by delayed information on a well-known event or delayed commentaries which are usually published after the event, even when they concern events which can be anticipated. If the event is unsuccessful and the information and

propaganda about it reach people too late, then public opinion is subject to gossip.

In many instances the press, radio, and television have an effective part in structuring the mind of our society. Most inhabitants of Poland admit that the press helps them in their orientation to the modern world, but a certain percentage (about 20 percent) of the people think that the press limits independent thinking.

The effectiveness of the press' influence on the society's attitudes and opinions is shown, among other things, by the following facts brought to light in the course of recent research.

Largely because of the press, radio, and television, people not only know about important events, but also know how to evaluate their significance. They correctly feel, as is the position put forth by our mass media, that the Helsinki agreement was the most important event contributing to a reduction of international tension during the past five-year period (75 percent of the persons questioned indicated just this event). lic opinion's recognition that the agreements between People's Poland and the FRG and peace in Vietnam to an important extent contributed to a reduction of international tensions shows the influence of our mass media. The same thing can be said about the way our propaganda coincides with public opinion with respect to facts which increase international tensions. Topping the list of such facts are the situation in the Near East and Maoism in China. It is not without the influence of our press, radio, and television that the overwhelming majority of Poles recognize Poland's important role in making peaceful cooperation in Europe permanent, sees the balance of political power in the world in a way which fits the direction of our propaganda, and indicates where threats to our national security can come from, generally in keeping with our reasons of state.

The preponderance of optimism in viewing the future of one's own family and the whole country is further testimony to the effectiveness of the influence of press propaganda.

Important Indoctrination Tasks

Our press devotes substantially more attention to the quality of work than to the quality of life. It is surely no accident that the picture of good work is far more comprehensive, fuller, and clearer in the social mind than the picture of the good life is. To live well for most Poles simply means to live in prosperity (have a car, earn a lot, have one's own home). Only a small group of people (about 7 percent) associate the good life with non-material values as well. Dr Pisarek said that to show people models of the good life filled not only with dreams about a new type of washer but also with cultural and intellectual content is one of the most important and most urgent indoctrination tasks of the press, radio, and television.

A comparison with research results from 1970-1977 leads us to the conclusion that there is a continuing increase in the significance of family happiness as the most important value in a person's life. In 1971-1974 we noted an increase in consumer attitudes which has recently slowed. In the light of this year's research we find that a clear conscience is taking on greater significance, while the attractiveness of social-welfare attitudes is declining. These phenomena, I feel, require the intervention of more than journalists. Of course, both family happiness and a clear conscience are praiseworthy ideals. I too am far from wanting to put them down, but I am disturbed by the fact that other values related to an active social attitude do not accompany them.

The society decidedly approves of press, radio, and television criticism of harmful phenomena. People believe in the effectiveness of press criticism, although they are also aware of its weaknesses, including the lack of continuity in kfollowing a matter to the end, lack of concrete conclusions, the undertaking of only individual current matters, and onesidedness. Criticism of harmful phenomena is an important factor in public faith in publications. Newspapers and periodicals which readers rate as being very critical at the same time enjoy the greatest trust in society. This fact can be seen particularly clearly with regard, for example, to POLITYKA and TRYBUNA LUDU.

During the final part of his address Dr Pisarek emphasized: "If we overlook the intermediary of the printed word duplicated and written on the typewriter, contacts between the milieu of journalists and press research (by the way, the reading of press research periodicals among journalists is a separate problem which we do not have time to discuss today) are usually limited to anniversary situations. On the occasion of their 20th or 25th anniversaries, various editorial offices invite press researchers to ceremonial events. I do not mean here that in such ceremonial appearances press researchers falsify reality. After all, something good can be said about every newspaper, because in one way or another every one can distinguish itself in comparison to the others. Anniversary reports focus on the virtues and usually hush up the weaknesses."

He continued: 'My address today is not one of these. On the contrary, I am using the occasion to call attention primarily to failures and short-comings, counting on the fact that we all let each other know about achievements in creating and developing the modern system of mass communication in People's Poland and the significance of the press, radio, and television role in structuring the nation's patriotic, socialist attitude."

Bring Press Research Closer to Editorial Groups

The discussion included statements by our colleagues Bogdan Jachacz (EXPRESS WIECZORNY), Dr Andrzej Slisz (Department of Journalism and Political Science, University of Warsaw), Wlodzimierz Checko (chairman of the editorial club), Jerzy Lazarz (press analysis publishing, Press-Book-Dissemination Workers' Cooperative Publishing House), Irena Dryll (TRYBUNA LUDU), Andrzej Mala-

chowski (SLOWO LUDU), Stefan Szostkiewicz (Center for Public Opinion Research and Program Studies), Jan Pakula (GLOS ROBOTNICZY), Jerzy Majka (SWIAT MLODYCH), Wladyslaw Maslowski (chairman of the press research club), Jozef Kielb (CHLOPSKA DROGA), Alicja Balinska (chairman of the telegraph journalists club), Roman Szydlowski (chairman of the theater criticism club), and Ryszard Badowski (chairman of the Poles-abroad problems club).

Michal Atlas, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee's press, radio, and television section also took the floor.

The prevailing view was that the report on the research results given at the plenary session of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Journalists on an exceptionally important area revealed a number of short-comings in the work of the press, radio, and television, and at the same time served as a basis and incentive for undertaking instances of initiative to improve activity of the mass media and also to upgrade the group's professional qualifications. Concrete conclusions for both sides came from the discussion, conclusions for journalists and for press researchers.

Concerning the report it was asserted that in presenting at least seven major sins of Polish journalism, it exaggeratedly shifted the center of gravity from the publisher to the consumer, not to what is published but to who receives it. Of course, the criterion of social selection is very important as a way of monitoring the effectiveness of our activity, but both these phenomena are strictly related, and actually interrelated. To give priority to one of them can upset this interdependence and lead to narrowing the possibilities of the issuer. Under our conditions, although for completely different reasons from those in capitalist society, we are after all fighting to shape the minds and attitudes of the society.

Attention was given to the complete lack in our country of scientific research on the creative horizons of journalism, on the improvement of work methods and the professional workplace in general. Meanwhile its continual upgrading is a factor upon which the transforming power of the printed and spoken word depend to a tremendous extent. Without a thorough analysis and collection of the experience already gained in this area we shall be resigned to individual pursuits. Of course, learned dissertations and studies will not replace the talent, knowledge, or even personal risk so essential to the profession of journalism, but the sum of professional experience can and should become for the journalist support in the development of new, effective, creative methods of operation.

Some speakers questioned the statement in the report that press research in Poland, against the backdrop of other social sciences, is strongly related to practice. One of the persons participating in the discussion said that for most writing journalists, press research is continually a secret science which is distant and not entirely accessible. Naturally in this case it is not a question of articles published in PRASA POLSKA or ZESZYTY PRASOZNAW-CZE but of the results of research on the press, research with implications for the journalist, although not enough of it reaches him.

In this connection it was pointed out that we need to "shift gears" between scientific analyses of the press or public opinion research and those who are the subject of analyses, that is, authors of articles. Such a "shift" is essential for modern journalism just so that it will be modern, because many journalists write gropingly and use certain arguments, but they do not know whom they reach or how strong their influence is. Assessments of what we are doing occur in our own internal professional groups. We obtain them from the units which direct the press. Writing cannot be based merely on intuition. We lack the evaluation and judgment of readers, viewers, and listeners.

Every honest-to-goodness journalist is tremendously interested in such assessments, regardless of how they turn out: good, bad, biased, or malicious. They reach us in the form of letters, phone calls to the editor, and statements made at meetings with readers. It would be worthwhile for them to reach us in a verifiable form, in the form of the results of press research on a given subject.

The current situation makes it necessary to bring press research closer to editorial groups and the writing workshop of journalism. The scale of difficulties which it is running into is increasingly greater. The price is rising on real, effective criticism which is not just for the show. How does our audience accept it? The answer to this basic question can come only from research conducted quickly, while a press campaign or drive is still going on. It has been with rather great reserve that press researchers have approached this last postulate. We are too careful when it comes to expressing ourselves on the subject of various publications' influence on the reader, because this is a complicated matter, they said, and there are weaknesses in press research, not just Polish press research.

In connection with the research presented, it was mentioned that presentation of readers' opinions is also one of the social tasks of the press, as one of the mass media, but in many instances this function, defined as transmitting information from the bottom to the top, is limited. It is particularly some representatives of voivodship officials who make access to sources of information difficult. Today it is easier for a journalist to get to a minister than to the director of a subordinate enterprise. This is why the columns of our newspapers have too much information on the events at various meetings, sessions, and ceremonies. Meanwhile there is much to be written about interesting events in the lives of the workers, about residents of villages, and about the work of Polish scientists.

Mentioning views on the subject of criticism, people emphasized that this sort of journalistic activity follows from the essence of Leninism and the social function of the press, but the campaign-oriented work observed among us in this area can lead to art for art's sake and the devaluation of what criticism is all about. In addition, it is easier for us to point up neglect than to find the causes underlying various adverse phenomena. On the other hand, the effectiveness of press criticism is the most important

matter. The absence of a proper reaction or real answer to it evokes understandable frustration among readers.

It was suggested that it is already high time to think about preparing a dictionary of Polish journalists. The Krakow press research center in undertaking such a decision would earn the gratitude of all journalists.

Material from the discussion should be thoroughly analyzed by the press research commission for the purpose of drawing conclusions.

The discussion which went on at the October plenum of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Journalists enriched our knowledge about the effectiveness of the influence of the press, radio, and television. This was undoubtedly a very broad subject. We will frequently return to it in editorial groups and at sessions of creative clubs.

POLAND

BRIEFS

POLISH CIVIL DEFENSE AID TO CUBA--In the Main Administration (ZG) building of the League of National Defense (LOK) a gift, funded by the LOK for a fraternal Cuban organization -- the Patriotic Defense Front of the Republic of Cuba (Front Patriotyczno-Obronny Republiki Kuby) -- was presented to the Cuban Embassy's Military, Naval and Air Attache in Warsaw, Lt Col Giovanni Gonzalez, by ZG LOK president Brig Gen Zbigniew Szydlowski. While being hosted in Poland at the beginning of last year, a delegation of this organization asked for help in organizing defense training for Cuban youth based on principles similar to those used by the LOK. Our Cuban comrades expressed particular admiration for the LOK model of automotive training after acquainting themselves with the driver and defense-politechnical training centers in Stalowa Wola, Piotrkow Trybunalski and Lodz-Pabianice. The gift, which was in the form of scientific-didactic assistance in outfitting of drivertraining centers, communications gear and training-athletic programs, is a continuation of the cooperation begun last year and a further step in its development. Among the exhibits and teaching aids turned over, there was a complete Fiat-125p chassis and a Zuk chassis, an engine cut-away, outfittings for classrooms consisting of working models of the Fiat-125p ignition system, electrical wiring, the crank shaft-piston-connecting rod assembly, etc. [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Jan 78 p 5]

'LUMEA' DISCUSSES BALKAN BILATERAL, MULTILATERAL COOPERATION

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 2, 5 Jan 78 pp 6-8 AU

[Article by Vasile Sandru: "The Development of Cooperation in the Balkans as an Organic Part of European Security"]

[Text] Within the framework of the positive processes that are taking place in the contemporary world as a result of the increasing assertion of the peoples' determination to decide on their fate independently and to participate on an equal footing in international life, significant developments have occurred in the situation prevailing in the Balkan area. The aspirations of the peoples of this tormented area to defend and consolidate their independence and sovereignty—won at the expense of great sacrifices in the not very distant past, and repeatedly subjected to severe trials since then—have never materialized as strongly as at present. More than ever in the past, in the postwar years the Balkan countries achieved considerable economic and social development.

The socialist countries in the Balkans--working each of them in its own specific internal and external conditions, which differ from country to country--have achieved remarkable progress in increasing their production forces and industrialization and in modernizing their national economies, thus becoming--from agricultural countries, as they were in the past--countries with a multilateral and dynamic economy, in which science, culture, art and education have been greatly developed and are profoundly affecting the life of the masses.

The nonsocialist countries in our area have also recorded considerable progress in their economic development, with the result that, particularly in recent years, new and democratic social forces have emerged in those countries, forces having an ever more marked positive impact on the socioeconomic life and on the foreign policy of those countries.

Kept for a long time on the fringes of the European political scene, as objects of transaction among the big powers, the Balkan peoples are asserting themselves as active factors in international life: They have

demonstrated their desire and capability to participate in debates on and in solving problems of regional, as well as European and world interest.

Ever more favorable conditions have been created for surmounting the problems inherited from the times of foreign domination and for developing peaceful cooperation among the Balkan countries, in the spirit of the traditions of friendship and solidarity wrought during long coinhabitation and common struggles for national and social liberation.

Proceeding from these developments and from the political, economic and social realities of the Balkan area, and from the importance of the place that this area occupies on the European political scene and in a broader context, Romania has acted and continues to act consistently and perseveringly to create a climate of good neighborliness, friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation in the Balkans, a climate favorable to fully achieving the Balkan peoples' aspirations for independence and progress. This policy that Romania follows has been authoritatively reasserted from the high forum of the RCP National Conference. The party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, took this opportunity to stress that "we are devoting special attention to developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, in forms acceptable to all the states. We believe that everything possible must be done to surmount the existing differences and conflicts..."

The CSCE, in which all the Balkan states (with the exception of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania) actively participated in all its preparatory stages and meetings, has created a new framework for and new lines of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the states participating in the process of building security and developing peaceful cooperation. The ideas of regional cooperation designed to attain these goals have found a new political support, a rallying impetus and a lasting stimulus in the Helsinki document, as well as a rich source of suggestions concerning the areas, forms and methods of cooperation acceptable to all the participating states. We can discern five basic elements of the new framework and lines of cooperation outlined by the historic European forum:

1. The principles that the states which signed the [Helsinki] Final Act solemnly pledged to respect, each in its relations with all the other states, specifically implied sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, i.e., respect for the right of each state to legal equality, and to political freedom and independence, as well as for their right to freely choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural system. The Balkan area is inhabited by four socialist states and two states with a capitalist system. Each of these countries has its own dominating national, social, political, economic and cultural characteristics, its own historical traditions. The specific international situation also differs from one country to

the other and leads to each country having its own, differentiated foreign policy orientation. As is known, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a socialist country, promotes a policy of bilateral cooperation with other states, and of nonparticipation in military alliances and multilateral regional economic bodies; the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a member of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA; the SFRY, a socialist country, is a member of the nonalined movement and of the "Group of 77" of the developing countries, does not belong to any political-military blocs, and maintains active relations of cooperation with regional economic bodies (CEMA, OECD, the Common Market, and so forth); the Socialist Republic of Romania, a socialist development country, member of CEMA and of the Warsaw Pact, is developing relations of friendship with all the socialist countries, belongs to the "Group of 77" of the developing countries and participates, as a guest, in the activities of the nonalined movement; Turkey and Greece, capitalist countries, although belonging to the same alliance--NATO (Greece, however, does not participate in the military organization of this body) -- have substantially different internal economic, social and political situations, different foreign policy orientations, and certain bilateral conflicts.

Consistent application of the principle of sovereign equality, and of respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, in relations among the Balkan states and in the relations between states outside this area and the Balkan countries requires strict respect for the specific situation of each of the Balkan countries and for their domestic and foreign policies. This is a sine qua non for developing lasting relations of cooperation and good neighborliness at both the bilateral and the multilateral regional level.

The principle of nonrecourse to the use or threat of force implies, in accordance with the commitments assumed under the [CSCE] Final Act, renunciation of the use or threat of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any state; it does not recognize any consideration that might be invoked to justify forcible acts or the threat of force. Given the conditions in the Balkans, an area inhabited by states belonging to opposing political-military alliances and given the fact that conflicts exist between certain of these states, the strict application of this principle—both by all the Balkan states in their mutual relations, by the states outside this area in their relations with the Balkan countries, and, naturally, by the latter in their relations with non-Balkan countries—constitutes a vital condition for safeguarding peace and establishing a climate of good neighborliness, a climate propitious to fruitful cooperation.

No less important is the idea of strict respect—in inter-Balkan relations and in the relations between the other states and the Balkan states—for the principles of noninterference in internal affairs, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders, peaceful settlement of conflicts, the right of the peoples to self-determination and respect

for the principles of interstate cooperation and good will in the fulfillment of the obligations assumed in accordance with international
law. The history of the Balkan states, including their postwar history,
abounds in instances of interference in their internal affairs, of disregard for the peoples' right to self-determination, and even of violation of their territorial integrity and of the inviolability of their
borders. The Helsinki Final Act provides a lasting base for establishing in the Balkans, too, a new type of relations, which should totally
exclude such negative acts; it records the fact that the non-Balkan
powers are also obligated to observe these principles toward the Balkan
countries. This constitutes one of the fundamental conditions for consolidating peace, building security and developing inter-Balkan cooperation.

2. One of the basic components of the Helsinki Final Act—the statement concerning measures to build trust, and certain aspects of security and disarmament—also meets certain stringent requirements in the Balkan area.

Considered from the viewpoint of security, but also from other viewpoints, the Balkan area cannot be divorced from the broader context of the Mediterranean and of Europe. Due to the intensive economic, cultural and other ties which have always existed throughout history between the Balkan peoples and the other peoples in the Mediterranean basin and in the rest of Europe, events occurring in the latter areas have a strong impact on the Balkan peninsula, just as events occurring in the Balkans are followed with interest by various international factors in a far broader context.

The fact that the Balkan peninsula is located on the crossroads between Europe and the Middle East, on the straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, is responsible for the major strategic importance of this area in the current international situation. Given the interposing global interests of the big powers, and especially in view of the continued hotbeds of tension in the Middle East and Cyprus and of the appearance of new conflicts in Africa, these circumstances amplify the tendency of non-Balkan factors to consolidate their presence in our area and are at the source of their attempts to create or revive the spheres of influence; they contribute to involving the Balkan states in the arms race and complicate and impede the finding of solutions to the conflicts existing between some of the Balkan states -- conflicts which were inherited from the past or which emerged years ago. This explains in good part the fact that considerable military forces and arms stockpiles, including foreign military bases and troops exist in the Balkans, as in fact in all of Europe. In 1975 the military expenditures of the Balkan states totaled over \$4.5 billion, almost four times as much as in 1957.¹

Figure taken from "World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook 1976," Stockholm, 1976--title in English.

Nevertheless, as is stressed in a study recently published in Yugoslavia: "A stabilization of the situation in the Balkans is directly linked with strengthening the policy of independence of the Balkan countries..."² This is also obviously the result of developing relations of friendship and cooperation among the Balkan countries and of the determination of the peoples of these countries to work for living in peace and security and to defend their independence and their right to a free and prosperous life.

As is only natural, the measures outlined by the CSCE to build trust are regarded with particular interest by the Balkan states that signed the final document, since these countries are interested in their consistent implementation and in new specific and effective measures to reduce military confrontation, to promote military disengagement and disarmament, to bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops and the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territory of Balkan countries, and to turn this area into a nuclear-free zone, without foreign troops and military bases. The achievement of such measures in the Balkans, which Romania has advocated and for which it has struggled for over 20 years, would make an extremely important contribution to strengthening peace and security not only in this area, but throughout Europe and the world.

The CSCE Final Act outlined a wide range of areas and forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in economic, scientific, technical, cultural, tourist, humanitarian and other fields of common interest, and has repeatedly stressed the need to promote the existing practices and forms of cooperation at regional and subregional levels. Along with the Scandinavian area, the Balkan area can be considered an initiator and forerunner of numerous and varied forms of multilateral regional cooperation in Europe; the Balkans have provided rich and valuable positive experience, whose significance surpasses by far the narrow Balkan context. For the purposes of a concise enumeration one can mention primarily various standing multilateral nongovernmental bodies, such as the Balkan Medical Association, the Balkan Association of Mathematicians, the International Association of Southeast European Studies and the Standing Conference of Southeast European Engineers -- which have been active for a long time and whose activities consist of periodic meetings, compilation of publications, organization of specialized courses and scientific contests, and so forth. Forms of cooperation such as periodic conferences of national Red Cross associations, meetings of national commissions for UNESCO, meetings of the representatives of writers unions of the Balkan countries, annual film festivals, folklore festivals, art exhibitions, stamp exhibitions, and so forth, have become traditional in various areas without, however, becoming permanent institutionalized There have also been meetings of representatives of national committees for mutual cooperation and understanding among the Balkan

²Dr Ranko Petkovici, "The Balkans Within the Framework of European Security and Cooperation," Zagreb, 1977, p 157.

peoples, meetings among young people and students, meetings among journalists, conferences of representatives of the unions of architects, universities, high school teachers, jurists, economists, seismology experts, etc. Balkan sports competitions have become more numerous and more varied each year.

One must specially mention Balkan cooperation in the area of tourism promotion, carried out under the intergovernmental convention signed in 1971 by Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey.

As was natural, the Helsinki conference has given new impetus to the Balkan peoples' aspirations for developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation, parallel with continuing the existing forms of multilateral cooperation at governmental and nongovernmental levels. Following the CSCE, the bilateral and multilateral relations among the Balkan countries have developed more actively in all fields. There have been exchanges of high-level visits and numerous bilateral visits and contacts between representatives of governments, parliaments, political parties, mass and public organizations. The joint declarations and other bilateral documents adopted have reasserted the determination of the peoples of the Balkan countries to intensify their bilateral cooperation, as well as their support for multilateral development in forms and areas that are in keeping with their common interests. New ideas and initiatives have been advanced on the organization of such cooperative actions.

One opportunity for airing such initiatives was the meeting on multilateral economic and technical cooperation among the Balkan states held in Athens on the initiative of Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Karamanlis 26 January to 5 February 1976, attended by delegations from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Greece, the SFRY, the Socialist Republic of Romania and Turkey. At this meeting, the delegations introduced approximately 200 proposals for subjects of multilateral cooperation in the areas of agriculture, foreign trade, energy, transportation and telecommunications, environment and health. As it had a limited aim, the meeting recorded these proposals and provided an initial exploration into the possibilities of multilateral cooperation. It was decided that after examination by their governments of the list compiled at the meeting, joint efforts should be continued to agree on the ways and means of achieving multilateral cooperation in areas and on subjects of common interest.

The holding of the Athens meeting was favorably received by the public opinion in the participating Balkan states and at the international level, and was regarded as a valuable contribution to achieving the aims of the Helsinki Final Act and as a convincing example of the possibilities existing for regional cooperation. The government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the governments of other participating countries, inspired by the determination to make appropriate efforts to capitalize on the possibilities formulated at the Athens meeting, examined the

proposals introduced and expressed officially their desire to cooperate with the other participating states to conclude specific agreements on the subjects and means of multilateral economic cooperation. Examination of these proposals showed that their realization, even their partial realization, can bring direct economic benefits to all the participating countries by contributing to solving various questions of common interest in the above-mentioned areas. At the same time, it would have a beneficial effect on the climate of good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation, rapprochement and better mutual understanding among the Balkan peoples. In view of the nature of the projects proposed, their implementation would in no way lead to any seclusion or isolation of the Balkan countries with regard to the other European countries; it would not have any negative effect on these countries' commitments toward the broader bodies to which they belong or on the interests of other states outside the Balkan area. On the contrary, it would contribute to creating new possibilities of cooperation between each Balkan country and the other countries and would serve the interests of all the European states. point of fact, past experience in multilateral cooperation -- for example in the areas of tourism, medicine, and so forth--has provided more than sufficient proof of this.

This is why, in our opinion, consistent efforts are needed in a spirit of great political responsibility for the cause of friendship, understanding and cooperation among the Balkan peoples, to consolidate and develop results to date and to successfully carry forward the important initiative of Athens.

4. One may say that, while the idea of the continuity of multilateral efforts organized in behalf of peace, security and cooperation was sanctioned in the Helsinki Final Act, one of its deepest roots is in the In themselves, the complex and contradictory realities of inter-Balkan relations and of the relations between the Balkan countries and other states, especially in the postwar era, have always required a careful, patient and understanding manner in tackling problems and the need to act perseveringly and for long periods of time to permit step-by-step progress toward fulfilling the centuries-old aspirations of the Balkan peoples for complete independence, peace, understanding, cooperation and friendship with their neighbors and with all the peoples in the world, so as to be able to devote their energies to their socioeconomic development and to overcome the backwardness caused by long centuries of foreign oppression and exploitation. Everything that has been achieved so far in both bilateral relations and in multilateral cooperation is the result of persevering efforts, pursued with consistency by the governments and other progressive political and social forces of the Balkan countries, of their continued efforts to eliminate the obstacles and suspicion fanned from the outside and to cultivate the feelings of good neighborliness and mutual assistance which have been created and established among the Balkan peoples throughout their common history and struggles for national and social liberation.

Today more than ever, when all of Europe is involved in a vast process of building security and cooperation, the process of strengthening peace, friendship and cooperation in the Balkans must be continued with increased and coordinated efforts. Within this process, the actions to develop bilateral cooperation and multilateral projects -- activities at governmental level and those carried out by nongovernmental bodies--are mutually complementary and stimulating. Of course, there can and do exist different views on the priority that should be given at a given moment to bilateral or multilateral measures. Life and international events have shown that in the Balkans, as in general in the world, the essential factor is the desire and political will to work in behalf of relations of friendship and cooperation and of solving the problems affecting peace and security. Once this determination exists, it can manifest itself actively and fruitfully in any framework--bilateral and multilateral, governmental and nongovernmental -- consistently serving the interests and vital aspirations of the peoples. Given the current favorable conditions, when efforts are being made in the world to consolidate the trend toward detente, it is absolutely necessary to have continuity in bilateral and multilateral efforts to establish a climate of peace, cooperation, good neighborliness and friendship and to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear arms and of foreign troops and military bases. It is the sacred duty of the states, of the peoples, of all the social and political forces in the Balkans to make their indispensable contribution to building a Europe of peace and security, of cooperation and progress.

5. The CSCE has made a remarkable contribution to democratizing international life. The consistent application of the principle of consensus in decision-making, the participation of the states in debates and in adopting decisions on the basis of complete equality as independent states outside military alliances, and the democratic procedural rules have assumed an incontestable value as norms of behavior in international relations. They constitute a rich source of inspiration, an indispensable factor for insuring the success of actions designed to solve the major current international problems. The problems of Balkan cooperation as well cannot be solved outside the democratic framework defined by these norms. They constitute the safe guarantee that no measure will be adopted if it is not in accordance with the freely expressed will of each participating state, with its independent will, expressed within the unimpeded exercise of its sovereign rights. These are the only solid foundations for building security, cooperation and friendship in the Balkans.

Recent international events in Europe, at the United Nations, in conflict areas and in other parts of the world highlight both grave tendencies in the policy of redividing the world and of fanning conflicts and tension and the increasing assertion of the democratic, people's forces struggling: to find political solutions to all the conflicts, to constructively resolve mankind's major problems, to promote understanding and cooperation in the world based on equality and to consolidate the national independence and sovereignty of the states. These developments are also affecting the

Balkan area. The Balkan people have not remained passive observers only, but are also making an active and particularly valuable contribution to consolidating the positive processes; they are clearly demonstrating their desire to live in good neighborliness and understanding, and have shown a great sense of responsibility for the fate of peace and security in this area, in Europe and in the world in general. Along this line, the contribution of the Romanian people, of President Nicolae Ceausescu, enjoys a broad and well-earned international appreciation. These aspirations of the Balkan peoples are the foundation on which will continue to advance the process of developing cooperation in the Balkans and of turning this area into an area free of nuclear arms and foreign military bases and troops—an area of peace, friendship and good neighborliness.

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

BAN ON ANTI-CANCER DRUGS--The Ministry of Health announces that it has tested, in accordance with legal norms, the preparations produced by Dr Mihai Danila for the treatment of cancer. The research and experimental studies carried out have shown that these products lack any sort of anti cancer action. The use of these products by some patients prevents effective medical-surgical treatment from being given at the best time. In light of the above, the utilization of the drugs proposed by Dr Mihai Danila is not authorized. [Agerpres] [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Jan 78 p 5]

DEATH OF ACADEMY MEMBER--The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania announces the death [on 3 January 1978] of Prof Gheorghe Manea, corresponding member of the Academy, noted personality in the field of the technical sciences and higher technical education in Romania. [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Jan 78 p 4]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Manescu is relieved of his position as vice chairman of the National Council for Water Resources and appointed first deputy minister of industrial constructions. Comrade Mihail Tenea is appointed deputy minister of industrial constructions. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 141, 30 Dec 77 p 6]

FINES IN STATE UNITS--With a view to strengthening financial order and discipline, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that beginning 1 January 1978, fines and penalties of any type, which are not the fault of any person, will be paid directly out of the profits which are placed at the disposal of the state enterprises, without being included in production costs or in circulation expenses. On the date that the present decree goes into effect all contrary provisions are abrogated. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 141, 30 Dec 77 p 1]

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